

# The Canadian Historical Review

CONTINUING

THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS  
RELATING TO CANADA

(Founded at the University of Toronto in 1896)

Vol. XXII

December, 1941

No. 4

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Published Quarterly

BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

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# The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XXII

TORONTO, DECEMBER, 1941

No. 4

## HISTORY IN MOTION PICTURES

PEOPLE nowadays get much of their information and their conceptions of life, past and present, through other media than books, lectures, and sermons, the long-established sources of instruction. The novel, the newspaper, the radio, and the movie are means of propagating ideas, stimulating interest, and exciting emotions, which unconsciously form opinions and determine conduct. Upon the quality and the truth of this popular education depends the question as to whether it shall become a dangerous enemy or a valuable ally to real knowledge and wise and beneficent action.

One of the most powerful and persistent of these modern agencies is the motion picture. Of late years it has utilized historical and biographical subjects, often with benefit in arousing popular interest and diffusing knowledge of the life of the past, and this in spite of many banalities and distortions. Recently it has discovered Canada historically, and we may expect that so fruitful a field will be explored, if not exploited, more extensively. The purpose of this article is to consider briefly some motion pictures presenting Canadian historical subjects which have appeared during the last couple of years, with reference to their accuracy of detail and the general truthfulness of their conception and presentation.

\* \* \*

*Northwest Passage* is based on the earlier portion of Kenneth Roberts's novel of that name, dealing with the expedition of Robert Rogers and his Rangers to the Indian village of St. Francis, its destruction, and the perils and privations of their return journey. This is the best part of the book, and it is none the less good fiction for being good history, following as it does Rogers's own journal.

In many respects *Northwest Passage* is an unusually vivid motion picture. Most of its scenes take place out of doors. The landscape is so much an integral part of the story that it might be

listed among the *dramatis personae*. In the history of the American continent the struggle with the wilderness was an ever-present factor. Boiling rapids, dense forests, rocky portages—these are as much participants in the drama as the human actors. Weather, season, and topography, therefore, in any pictured story of Canada's past, should be presented with as much fidelity to historical truth as are costumes, weapons, and means of transportation. Only too often the motion picture violates or ignores the consistency of the background with the historic event; so long as the landscape offers opportunity for sensational scenic effect, the producer seems to be satisfied.

In the picture under review, the landscape setting, whether photographed on the actual ground of Rogers's route, or in similar country, is in conformity with the historic facts. Perhaps more emphasis might have been given to the character of the season (the fall of the year) when the journey took place; but otherwise the fusion of geographic and historic fact is carried out with marked success.

Spencer Tracy gives a convincing presentation of Rogers, whose personality dominates the picture. His energy, resourcefulness, and stimulating leadership are revealed in every gesture. He never steps out of the character: his lithe, slightly rolling gait is that of a man accustomed to threading his way through tangled underbrush. The same characteristic action is to be seen in the movements of most of the Rangers—even when on parade they seem to stand with less rigidity than the professional regular soldiers. Such details give verisimilitude to the picture and to the interpretation of the story.

It might be objected that in some of the scenes on the march to St. Francis there was rather too much bustling confusion and noise to be strictly in accord with the conditions of a secret expedition. It is true that heavy whaleboats could scarcely have been carried over rugged portages in silence, but occasionally the impression was conveyed that there was enough clamour to have reached the ears of any Indian scout within a mile. It was noticeable, also, that some of the boats were loaded while being carried overland. This is hardly probable—their provisions and equipment would have been portaged separately; the boats were heavy enough in themselves.

Another minor detail of the picture strikes the observer. The Rangers, including Rogers himself, wore caps somewhat similar in shape to those worn today by the Air Force. The effect of this was

to disturb the period atmosphere of the picture. The cap of the eighteenth century may have borne some resemblance to that of today, though the engraved portrait of Rogers, published in 1776, shows him wearing a cap with a semi-circular plate, like a turned-up visor, in front. But, granted that they did wear such a cap, it is doubtful whether they wore it with such a decided cock over the ear as do the airmen of 1941. In the portrait of Rogers it is set squarely on the head, and this would seem probable, in view of eighteenth-century ideas of military neatness.

The question indicates one of the difficulties attending all modern visual reconstructions of the past. Certain costume shapes, styles of furniture, methods of building construction recur from time to time. The present-day fashion for "period" atmosphere makes these shapes so familiar to us that, when used in pictures illustrating the past, they dispel the illusion by their modernity. The only way to minimize this distraction of our attention seems to be to emphasize the differences, often very slight, rather than the resemblances between the antique form and its modern adaptation. This problem of the intrusion of modern atmosphere into that of the past arose in the recent reconstruction of the Habitation of Port Royal, which called for the use of some diamond-paned windows. When planned out in the architect's elevations, they bore an incongruous resemblance to those seen in innumerable modern suburban residences. More intensive research revealed the fact that the seventeenth-century diamond pane was more like a square set on edge, and much less acute than most of those of today. The proportion and shape accordingly were changed to the older style, and the desired feeling of the period was retained. In the case of the Rangers' cap, it is possible that if in the picture it had been set squarely on the head, the association with the modern flier would not have been aroused; if wear it they must, they should have worn it "with a difference."

\* \* \*

*North West Mounted Police* is a horse of another colour, in fact, very much of a piebald. Whoever is responsible for the breed is something of a genius, a motion-picture Burbank. Only a genius could have evolved from historic facts such a masterpiece of misinformation. If the Police, as is reported, assisted the producers in some of the scenes, they must be appalled at the way in which their co-operation has been abused to travesty the facts of history.

The colour photography and technical production are excellent;

which makes it all the more deplorable that such beautiful work should be wasted on such lying and sentimental trash. The landscape setting, though beautiful in itself, is altogether wrong—pine forests, mountains, rapids, and waterfalls, taken apparently in the neighbourhood of Banff, hundreds of miles from the Saskatchewan prairies, and entirely different from the characteristics of the country where the events took place.

The fight at Duck Lake, the preliminary episode of the rebellion, is made its decisive climax. The engagement actually took place while the snow was still on the ground, and the government force travelled in sleighs. In the picture the rebels, including a large contingent of Indians (who were not present in any number), lie in ambush in the full foliage of summer. The pictorial casualties on both sides suggest that the producer either has no faith in historical records or that he has an inordinate thirst for blood. If the Mounties always get their man, the producer certainly gets several of *them*, including their commander, who dies a heroic death. The Mounted Police reports state that Inspector Crozier led his defeated force from the field with the loss of three constables and several volunteers killed; but the movie man is not to be fooled with stories like this or to content himself with such inadequate results when he says "Shoot," and his camera gets into action.

His greatest triumph, however, is his masterly use of the Gatling Gun. With it he rips history to tatters. According to the picture, it was employed by the Métis at the outbreak of the Rebellion, and not by General Middleton later at Batoche, as orthodox history would have us believe. And it was not worked by the American Captain Howard, but by the villainous American whisky trader who was debauching the Indians, in spite of the ten years' work of the Mounted Police, whose reports assert that by 1877 the evil traffic was practically suppressed.

Big Bear, whose pursuit we are taught prolonged the military operations until well into the summer, on the contrary, thanks to the researches of the motion-picture experts, is shown to have been converted from his evil ways at an earlier stage by the persuasive heroism of the Mountie leading man and his Texas Ranger ally, one of the hitherto unknown warriors of history, now revealed to the world as Gary Cooper.

It is all very ridiculous; but it is also very deplorable. Historical truth has difficulty enough in penetrating the popular mind, without the additional confusion produced by such distortions so attractively and so vividly presented. Apparently, if the story



deals with past events, the producer thinks that it does not matter how it is treated and that it has no bearing on the life of today. He believes in letting the dead past bury its dead, so long as he can provide plenty of corpses. But things of this kind are a serious menace to the public welfare, a kind of treason, in these days when democracy needs above all things to be well informed.

It is gratifying to know, if report be true, that the public response generally in Canada has been unfavourable. When producers realize that falsehood is unprofitable we shall have fewer distortions of history in motion pictures.

\* \* \*

A much better picture is *Hudson's Bay*, which deals with the early history of the Hudson's Bay Company. The personality of Radisson dominates it, as that of Rogers does *Northwest Passage*. As interpreted by Paul Muni he is compelling, intensely individual, a real person; whether true to the Radisson of history is another matter. Our information about him and his associate, Groseilliers, is so vague as to personality that they both remain somewhat shadowy figures, and the historian and the playwright alike, in the absence of specific details, may plead some justification for the exercise of the imagination. Exception may be taken to the persistent effort to be humorous and to lighten the "dignity of history" by the whimsicality of Radisson and the athletic clowning of Groseilliers. This latter part was taken by Laird Cregar, a Herculean giant, whose physical feats, in addition to his very considerable ability as an actor, should make him a screen favourite. Whatever may be the historical accuracy of their characterizations, it must be admitted that they are very much alive throughout the picture.

The story is encumbered by the conventional "heart-interest" episodes of the Hollywood formula; but this concession to the supposed popular demand does not materially disturb the main current of the story. The costuming and accessories are accurate and appropriate, whether at the court of Charles II, on the shores of Hudson Bay, or in the winter woods. So much cannot be said for the scenes around Montreal, and this seems strange, for here surely sufficient data could have been found to give a more convincing atmosphere instead of the general uncertainty that seems to pervade this portion of the picture. One serious error is observable. The Governor appears riding in an elaborate "carosse," or seventeenth-century coach. At that period it looks incongruous

in a settlement that was still largely a frontier outpost. Mr. E.-Z. Massicotte, the authority on old Montreal, in a note to the present reviewer, confirms this impression. He says: "There was certainly no 'carosse' in Montreal around 1670. The first mention of a 'calèche,' which is far from being an elaborate 'carosse,' was of one being used by Governor de Callières in 1699. 'Charettes' and 'tombereaux' were mentioned, but they were vehicles of farmers."

Some details of French-Canadian building construction also seem to be incorrect; but on the whole the visual aspect of the picture story is faithful to ascertainable fact. Certainly there is no such travesty of history as *North West Mounted Police* displays, and if future Canadian historical subjects are treated as well as in *Hudson's Bay* we may well be thankful.

\* \* \*

Another recent motion picture, although not Canadian in subject, calls for mention, *The Prime Minister*, dealing with the career of Disraeli. It is slightly tinged with propaganda, but not of an objectionable kind, and with sentimentality which is quite appropriately Victorian—a distinctly different variety from that of our own day. The picture is an education in the fashions and furnishings among various classes of society during the period between the eighteen-thirties and the eighteen-eighties. The production has succeeded in the very difficult task of showing the gradual changes in the physical aspect throughout the years of the principal characters, Queen Victoria, Disraeli, and his wife, while at the same time it preserves the intangible quality of the individual resemblance. The young Disraeli possibly might have been shown as a more bizarre and flamboyant figure in the matter of clothes, if we may trust contemporary accounts. This would have given more realism to the scene when the House of Commons hooted his maiden speech, though doubtless it would have risked the diversion of the spectator's feelings from sympathy to amusement. The later Victoria, too, seemed somewhat more haggard than one gathers from contemporary photographs, touched up though these may be. And Mr. Gladstone scarcely comes to life in appearance—one missed the familiar wide-winged collar and the flashing eye. The role assigned to him was wooden and unsympathetic; but good Liberals will realize that he too was a human being, though less exuberantly picturesque than his rival, and will feel that an equally good story might be made of the wifely devotion of Mrs. Gladstone. Visually the picture is a most satisfactory production, and it is a



welcome relief to find a scenario which, in spite of some melodramatic fervour, has coherence, intelligent selection of incident, and a general fidelity to historic fact.

\* \* \*

Some general conclusions seem to emerge from a survey of these recent pictures. Unquestionably the quality of visual presentation has improved enormously during the last few years. Details of costume and setting show an accuracy that gives evidence of very considerable research and the employment of expert advice. In many instances such details, in addition to being true to their period, are also true to their locality and to the special circumstances that modify and affect them. We seldom see today such incongruities as passed uncriticized a few years ago, when a pioneer home could be furnished with Sheraton chairs, and ball-room costumes could promenade unscathed through a pictorial wilderness. The critical faculty of the public has become more exacting, its historical intelligence is better informed, and the average movie-goer senses the anachronism in the general atmosphere, though he may not be able to specify the particular error. In the main, I think the social historian may count the historical motion picture as a valuable ally in the diffusion of popular education regarding the everyday life of the past.

When we turn to the consideration of the scenario, we inevitably encroach somewhat upon the field of literary and aesthetic criticism, which lies outside the scope of the present review. But the theme is so inextricably interwoven with the presentation, the historic fact is so often an integral part of the problem of the scenario and affects it so strongly, that historic truth and artistic effect cannot be segregated. And in historical subjects, truth is not only stranger than fiction; it is frequently more artistic.

So far as plot or story are concerned, current historical motion pictures seem to divide themselves into two main types: those in which purely fictitious characters occupy the principal roles, and those which are based on actual historical personages, such as Lincoln, Nelson, Disraeli, etc. The latter picture-biographies generally are true to fact in the details of their visual presentation and in the larger outlines of their life patterns. For the most part they follow the orthodox versions of the characters and the events of their careers; they may be somewhat sentimentalized, and their psychological analysis may not be very acute or profound, but we are spared serious distortions.

So much cannot be said for many of the historical movies built around fictitious leading characters. Here the producer too often lets himself go, with unfortunate effect on the larger aspects of history. Even though the events may not be travestied or falsified so grossly as in *North West Mounted Police*, almost invariably they are conceived and interpreted according to certain supposedly popular ideas and sentiments, or in conformity to certain so-called artistic conventions. The dead hand of the Hollywood formula only too frequently strangles both originality of plot and the realistic truth of history. The costumes are more authentic than the motives or forces that move the actors who wear them; the outward trappings are studied more profoundly than the underlying psychology.

We may not expect nor desire an undue infusion of the "philosophy of history" in popular entertainment, but something more approaching realistic common sense would be a welcome change from the outmoded romance and sentimentality that seem to pervade a motion picture as soon as it dons the clothes of yesterday. Let us hope that the conscientious study, the research devoted to the reconstruction of the visual details may extend into the domain of the scenario. We shall then have historical motion pictures of a more illuminating, a more penetrating character. The biographical movie is a step in that direction. Historical fiction and drama have opened wider possibilities in such works as Tolstoi's *War and Peace*, and Hardy's *The Dynasts*. The technical resources of the motion picture may yet be developed, without sacrifice of human interest, so that the real protagonist of the drama of history, the period itself, and its life forces, shall be more clearly revealed.

CHARLES W. JEFFERYS

York Mills, Ontario.

## LORD JOHN RUSSELL AND THE CANADIAN CRISIS 1837-1841

### I

IN many of the more recent accounts of the development of self-government in Canada during the decade which followed the Rebellion of 1837, Lord John Russell appears as the reactionary whose opposition formed the chief obstacle to a quick and easy solution of the problem. His refusal to accept without question the principle of "responsible government," as defined by Robert Baldwin,<sup>1</sup> and subsequently adopted by Lord Durham, has exposed him to criticism, expressed at times in language which conveys the severest censure. By the great majority of his contemporaries he was regarded, not without some reason, as a liberal and a reformer; but his expressed disagreement with the colonial reformers on this one point has put him out of favour with most modern writers on colonial history. At best he now appears as a man "who ought to have known better," or as a timid, half-hearted reformer, incapable of grasping the bold, constructive ideas of men like Durham and Howe; at worst, as a sort of political pedant, encased in an armour of logic, against which the common-sense arguments of the reformers beat in vain.<sup>2</sup> His "reactionary policy," which forced Lord Glenelg from the Colonial Office, and which, in the opinion of one eminent historian, all but precipitated a second American Revolution, has become part of the history of the movement<sup>3</sup>; and to his influence, more than to that of any other statesman of the period, has been attributed the resistance of the British government, not only during the two years while he was himself at the Colonial Office, but during the period of Tory rule that followed.

His so-called "Whig logic," arid and unimaginative, has been set over against the vision and statesmanship of Lord Durham, and the difference between the two men stated in the most extreme terms. The great reformer, whose work pointed the way to a new conception of empire, has been credited with courage which "rises into sublimity" for having ventured to advocate a change already disavowed by Melbourne and Russell; and the final

<sup>1</sup>W. P. M. Kennedy, *Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1713 to 1929* (Toronto, 1930), 336.

<sup>2</sup>S. J. Reid, *Life and Letters of Lord Durham* (London, 1906), II, 140; Chester Martin, *Empire and Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1929), 240-64; W. P. Morrell, *Colonial Policy of Peel and Russell* (Oxford, 1930), 17-20, 73, etc.

<sup>3</sup>R. Coupland, *The American Revolution and the British Empire* (London, 1930), 298.

establishment of the system which he recommended has been described as the revenge of his memory on the "relentless oligarchy" which had banished him from their ranks, and which, to the end, obstinately refused to heed his counsel.<sup>4</sup>

That the difference between the two men on this issue was so deep and irreconcilable, may perhaps be doubted. Whatever his more enthusiastic disciples may have thought, there is no reason to believe that Durham himself regarded Russell as an opponent, or that he saw in Russell's transfer to the Colonial Office the triumph of a reaction which endangered his own plans for the government of Canada. On the contrary, he seems to have welcomed the change which put an end to the aimless drifting that had characterized the work of the Colonial Office during the whole of Glenelg's tenure. In his last recorded letter to Russell, written in March, 1840, he expressed his opinion on the measures then being adopted by the new Colonial Secretary<sup>5</sup> and by his own successor in Canada, in language very different from that employed by men like Buller, and by some later historians. "I can conscientiously assure you," he said, "of my cordial concurrence in all the views which you took of this important question. I sincerely rejoice in Thomson's success. Buller will have already told you that I contributed to it the utmost of my ability. He is a fortunate person in having at the Colonial Office one who has the ability to comprehend this intricate subject, and the spirit to support him in his efforts to unravel it."<sup>6</sup>

Lord Durham's opinion was given at the beginning of the struggle for the new order in the colonies. There is another, written a quarter of a century later, when responsible government was an established fact, which may be set beside it. In 1839 Joseph Howe regarded Russell's increasing influence over colonial policy with some misgiving. For reasons which are not very evident, he had persuaded himself that under the administration of Lord Glenelg, the changes demanded by the Nova Scotia reformers were likely to be made within a short time; and he considered Glenelg's retirement, which he attributed to Russell's influence, as ominous for the future.<sup>7</sup> By 1866 he had evidently changed his opinion. Replying then to the criticism of an American historian, whose animadversions on a number of English

<sup>4</sup>Chester Martin, "The Durham Report and its Consequences" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XX, June, 1939, 193); *Empire and Commonwealth*, 212.

<sup>5</sup>Russell went to the Colonial Office in September, 1839.

<sup>6</sup>Reid, *Lord Durham*, II, 367.

<sup>7</sup>Martin, "Durham Report," 189.

statesmen had roused his indignation, he summed up his conclusions in words which put Russell's part in this movement in a somewhat different light. After a tribute to the liberalism manifested in many of the Whig leader's reforms in Great Britain and in Ireland, he concluded with this statement:

But I would shut out of view everything that Lord Russell has done for the improvement of the British Islands, and take the simple measure by which he gave self-government to the outlying provinces of the empire; and I am free to state that, in conferring upon all our great colonies a more perfect system of administration, and a more thorough control over their own affairs than any state in this Union enjoys, he did a greater service to the world at large than Mr. George Bancroft could confer if he lived for five hundred years.<sup>3</sup>

There may, of course, be disagreement as to the precise value of these letters; but they were written by men who knew the problem and its history, and who were not in the habit of concealing their opinions behind the forms of polite correspondence. In themselves they are not conclusive, but they suggest that the interpretation which assigns to Russell the role of a mere reactionary, bent on frustrating the reform advocated by Durham and Howe, is somewhat too simple.

The establishment of responsible government in the colonies was but one of many reforms effected or attempted during the period. In most of these Russell took a prominent part. Some of them, notably those measures which had as their object the establishment of a more rational form of government in Ireland, were originated and directed by him. It is difficult to assume that in the one case he adhered to the best traditions of Fox and Burke, while in the other he looked for guidance to the inspired words of Thurlow and Lord North.

## II

Russell's interest in Ireland was shared by Lord Durham and had the two men co-operated in this, as they had done in the passage of the Reform Bill, and as they were to do again in reforming the government of Canada, they might have accomplished something of great and lasting benefit. The Irish problem, always present and always difficult, had been given a new urgency by O'Connell's agitation for the repeal of the Union, following upon his victory over Wellington's government on the

<sup>3</sup>J. A. Chisholm, *Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe* (Halifax, 1909), II, 460. On the advice of the British Ambassador in Washington the letter was not published, but it was written for publication, and it is probably a sincere expression of Howe's opinion.

question of Catholic emancipation, and by the widespread refusal of the peasants, beginning in 1831, to continue the payment of the exorbitant charges laid upon them for the support of the Protestant church establishment. By any standard of liberality, or of ordinary common sense, the government of Ireland in state and church, as it had been developed during the eighteenth century, and stereotyped at the time of the Union, was indefensible; and no group of ministers who had even the faintest memory of the ideals of Fox and Burke, and of Lord Grey himself at an earlier stage of his career, could think of maintaining it in its present form. Yet that is, in essence, what Grey and most of his aristocratic colleagues contemplated.

For years they had supported the petitions for Catholic emancipation, albeit with increasing dislike for the more vigorous methods by which O'Connell was endeavouring to secure the same object. When that measure had at last been passed, and when they had supplemented it by the establishment of a system of national education in 1831, they believed that they had done about as much as was required in the way of positive reform. Their policy thereafter, expressed practically in Stanley's Coercion Act of 1832, was the defence of existing institutions, threatened, as they believed, by O'Connell's violent agitation, and the strict enforcement of the law as it stood. To Durham, who opposed this last measure, and to Russell, who gave it a qualified and conditional support,<sup>9</sup> this was not enough. The responsibility of a liberal government towards its Irish subjects did not, in their judgment, end with the passage of a measure admitting a few score Catholic members to seats in the imperial Parliament; and on this, as on many other matters, they were determined that the government in which they served should be in fact a liberal government. They protested against Stanley's method of governing the country, and in particular against his determination to prevent any serious reform in the tithe system, which, like the clergy reserves in Canada, was a cause of widespread discontent; and their protests, delivered separately, but with equal vigour,<sup>10</sup> were among the more important reasons for the removal of Stanley from an office in which he was clearly out of place.<sup>11</sup>

In the following year Lord Durham resigned, and thereafter

<sup>9</sup>Earl Russell, *Speeches and Dispatches* (London, 1870), I, 369.

<sup>10</sup>C. M. New, *Lord Durham* (Oxford, 1929), 222; Rollo Russell, *Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell* (London, 1913), II, 35.

<sup>11</sup>He was transferred to the Colonial Office, where he accomplished one great reform in the passage of the Act abolishing slavery in 1833.



showed little interest in the question. But Russell, having embarked on the project, did not let it drop; and in the years that followed, while the crisis in Canada was developing, much of his time and attention was given to this difficult task. It was with that experience immediately behind him that he turned in 1839 to the Canadian problem; and it is not wholly fanciful to suggest that there was perhaps some affinity between the objects which he sought to attain in the two cases. To Radicals like Roebuck and Leader it appeared, especially in 1837,<sup>12</sup> that in his measures for Canada, Russell was turning his back on his own record in Ireland and on his professed loyalty to the principles of Charles James Fox; but in this, as in some other matters, their enthusiasm may have outrun their judgment.

There was nothing spectacular about his methods in Ireland. He did not, like Durham in 1832,<sup>13</sup> and like Peel at an earlier date, contemplate or desire the establishment of a dictatorship to carry out a programme of total reform. He was content to work through existing institutions, and to rely on the "bit-by-bit reforms" which Durham dismissed as futile. The most controversial of his measures was one to reduce the income of the established church to a sum more nearly approximating the needs of its members, and to apply the surplus to the support of charitable and educational foundations from which the peasants might derive some benefit. He refused to consider the disestablishment of the church, which, by his own estimate, served only about one-tenth of the population, and was unlikely to increase its membership.<sup>14</sup> That would have involved what he regarded as a fundamental change in the constitution of the United Kingdom; and to such change he was resolutely opposed. But he persuaded himself, obviously on insufficient grounds, that without destroying the institution, it could be adapted to perform the service for which it was designed, even under the peculiar conditions prevailing in Ireland.

A second measure introduced by Russell, opposed for years in Parliament, and finally carried amid the execrations of Orange Lodges and Anglican bishops, made a beginning in the reform of local government in Ireland, by applying to the municipal corporations the elective principle which had recently been applied to similar institutions in England. A third measure, passed after

<sup>12</sup>Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, XXXVI, 1314, 1342.

<sup>13</sup>Reid, *Lord Durham*, I, 316.

<sup>14</sup>S. Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell* (London, 1889), I, 188.

years of the same type of opposition, extended to Ireland the English system of poor relief, partly as a means of relieving destitution, partly as an aid to the maintenance of order among the thousands of peasants who were regularly being evicted from their wretched holdings. With these legislative measures was coupled a determined effort, mainly the work of the popular Under-Secretary, Thomas Drummond, to reform the corrupt administrative system of Dublin Castle, to put an end to the vicious practice of employing the military for the collection of tithes and for other civil functions, to eliminate the deadly influence of sectarianism from the judicial system, and to give effect to the letter and spirit of the Emancipation Act.

The programme fell short of what the most ardent reformers might desire. There were obvious evils in the political and economic systems of Ireland which Russell did not touch, and which it may be assumed he did not intend to touch. But it was the most far-reaching effort yet made by any English government to discharge the responsibility of its power in Ireland, and to give effect to the promises held out to the Irish people in 1800, that the Union would lead to their "full participation in the blessings derived from the British constitution." To accomplish even a part of it required a struggle of some six or seven years against all the conservative forces in the kingdom, from the crown,<sup>15</sup> to the last petty office-holder in Ireland; and more than ordinary courage was required in a minister whose colleagues included such men as Melbourne, Palmerston, and Stanley,<sup>16</sup> to embark upon it and to persevere in it.

The method was typical of Russell's approach to every problem of the kind. He saw no need for change in the fundamentals. He put his trust—perhaps too much trust—in the existing constitution, interpreted and enforced in a liberal and generous spirit. His purpose was stated in the House of Commons in April, 1839, in reply to an attack on his government by Lord Roden, the acknowledged leader of the most extreme Orange faction in Ireland. It had been their endeavour, he said, "to unite by affection, to unite by feelings of goodwill and love, the people of this country and the people of Ireland; to make the whole United Kingdom stronger against all its enemies; to found the government of

<sup>15</sup>Under William IV. After Queen Victoria's accession opposition from this quarter ceased.

<sup>16</sup>Until 1834. Stanley then left the ministry and the party because of his opposition to Russell's measures in Ireland.



Ireland, as the government of England has long been founded, upon opinion, upon affection, and upon goodwill."<sup>17</sup>

Beyond the passage of some useful legislation, little was actually accomplished to the purpose. The interests against which Russell had to contend were too strong, and the old Tory doctrine that Britain's tenure of the island required the maintenance of the oligarchy in all its power and privileges, was too deeply rooted to be seriously affected by a few years of such endeavour. But Russell's claim was justified; and, despite some difference with Lord Durham on a point of theory, there is no reason to believe that he abandoned this ideal when he became responsible for the government of Canada.

### III

Russell's first statement on the government of the colonies, and more particularly on the responsibility of the colonial executive, was made during the debates on the resolutions of 1837. Some months earlier he had discussed the question with Robert Baldwin, when the latter was refused an interview with the Colonial Secretary; and, while admitting the strength of Baldwin's arguments, he remained, then and for long after, "unconvinced as to the theory."<sup>18</sup> In the interval he had apparently reached his conclusions, and his statement in reply to the similar demand from the Assembly of Lower Canada, was clear and precise. "That part of the constitution," he declared, "which requires that the ministers of the crown shall be responsible to parliament, and shall be removable if they do not obtain the confidence of parliament, is a condition which exists in an imperial legislature, and in an imperial legislature only. It is a condition which cannot be carried into effect in a colony." To apply this principle to the government of the colonies would lead to the creation of "separate independent powers" in all the colonies. The imperial government would be deprived of the means of carrying its "measures or wishes into effect," and each colony would in fact become "an independent state"; and that, he concluded, "is a condition which it is impossible to have consistently with the relations between the mother country and the colony."<sup>19</sup>

Strangely enough, in view of their later enthusiasm on this subject, the Radicals did not challenge the statement. The

<sup>17</sup>Hansard, XLVII, 39. April 15, 1839.

<sup>18</sup>Earl Russell, *Recollections and Suggestions* (London, 1875), 200.

<sup>19</sup>Hansard, XXXVI, 1294.

question was dealt with specifically in one of the ten resolutions,<sup>20</sup> and it was discussed at length, not only by Russell himself, but by a number of other members, including Gladstone, Labouchère, and Stanley.<sup>21</sup> But it was referred to by Buller only to be dismissed as of secondary importance<sup>22</sup>; and it was not even mentioned by Roebuck or Hume, or any of the other members who supported Leader's amendment to the resolutions.<sup>23</sup>

The Radicals based their criticism on two grounds: on the assumption by ministers of the "unconstitutional and arbitrary power" of appropriating revenue to purposes other than those approved by the colonial Assembly; and on the refusal to yield at once to the demand of the Assembly for an elected Legislative Council. The first of these they denounced as a violation of the Constitutional Act, and an attempt to resume the power, long since abandoned by the imperial Parliament, of imposing taxes on the colonies. The second was, in their view, the really important issue. "The evil," said Roebuck, "is the irresponsibility of the public servants; the means by which this irresponsibility has been maintained is the legislative council." The remedy was either to abolish this body, or to make it elective, and so deprive it of the power which it had too long possessed of shielding the "official tribe," and thwarting the wishes of the people.<sup>24</sup>

This was their great solution for the constitutional problems of the colony, and to it they returned again and again. The first amendment, offered by Leader on March 6, as an alternative to the whole ten resolutions, proposed that the Legislative Council be made elective.<sup>25</sup> A second, presented on April 14, when the resolution dealing with the executive power and its responsibility was under consideration, proposed the abolition of this same Legislative Council.<sup>26</sup> The change was apparently due to Roebuck's influence; but it was ably seconded by Buller, who, while confessing that he knew very little of the situation in Canada, agreed that a second chamber in which the places of the Russells and Howards were taken by merchants, "eminent in tenpenny nails" and in "sausages and cured hams," was not likely to be of much service to the colony.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVI, 1304 ff. Resolution No. V.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVII, 96, 109, 118.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVII, 1270.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVI, 1314, 1342 ff., and XXXVII, 82 ff.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVI, 1342, and XXXVII, 1209 ff.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVI, 1314.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVII, 1290.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVII, 1268 and 1271.

In the more fundamental problem they apparently took little interest. Their indifference is difficult to understand, but it may not unfairly be assumed, either that they did not quite grasp the significance of the constitutional movement in the colonies which they undertook to explain to the less enlightened members who sat on the treasury bench, or that they did not wholly disagree with Russell's statement on the position of the colonial Governor and his necessary responsibility to the imperial Cabinet.

On the resolutions in general, however, their disagreement was not left in doubt. Buller, the most temperate of the critics, regarded the conduct of Russell and his colleagues as indefensible. It was, he believed, "not merely a repetition, but a servile imitation" of the worst methods of George III and his ministers. "That principle," he declared, "which came with consistency from the Grenvilles and the Norths came with a very bad grace from the political successors of those whose whole senatorial career had been a defense of the rights of the colonists of North America." The most severe coercive measures of Tory governments in Ireland, many of which he stigmatized as "crimes against law and freedom," were mild and innocuous compared with these resolutions directed "against the constitutional rights of a whole nation, expressed through the medium of their lawful representatives."<sup>28</sup>

Buller's language was moderation itself compared with Roebuck's invective, and with his thinly veiled incitement to the colonists to resist this tyranny and to avail themselves of the military support which the free people of the United States would provide when the moment for resistance came.<sup>29</sup> But the two men were agreed on the character of the resolutions. In effect they amounted to an "utter abrogation of the representative rights of the Canadians"; and whatever might be their immediate reception in the colony, their final result would be to excite hatred and mistrust of English rule, and to destroy those bonds of affection and understanding by which the Empire was united. Although he did not always draw the conclusions which now seem obvious, Buller did, with some consistency, think of the colonies as "nations"; and in one passage in an otherwise not very impressive speech, he revealed something of that constructive liberalism in imperial affairs which was to give him his place among the makers of the Commonwealth. "If this kind of interference with the privileges of nations is allowed," he observed, "there would soon

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVII, 1269.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVI, 1353 ff., and XXXVII, 1273.

be no right safe from might, and no longer any respect for that sanctity of honour which should hedge the majesty of an imperial legislature."<sup>30</sup>

There was some justice in the criticism. The resolutions were a clumsy effort to deal with a problem which was already insoluble by the old method of imperial control. They authorized a serious, if temporary, suspension of constitutional rights confirmed by statute as recently as 1831. But they could not fairly be interpreted either as "insult and deep injury" to a patient and long-suffering people, or as a deliberate plan to destroy the system of representative government in the colonies. For reasons which are now evident, but which the Radicals refused to consider, that system had already broken down in Lower Canada. Under existing conditions, as Buller himself was to prove in a very short time, it could not be restored. And the worst that could be charged against the authors of the resolutions was that their knowledge of the situation was not much better than that of their critics.<sup>31</sup>

The expert on the Conservative side was Stanley, who had served for a time as Colonial Secretary under Lord Grey, but who had recently deserted the Whigs in protest against Russell's Irish policy. He supported the resolutions for lack of anything better, but he poured scorn on the efforts of the ministers to conciliate men whom he regarded as republicans and revolutionaries. They come before us, he said in a slashing attack on his late colleagues, "talking about their extreme reluctance to take any unconstitutional step," and their desire to do no more than the case required,—"showing their teeth but not daring to bite."<sup>32</sup> How Stanley would have dealt with the situation was not disclosed, but he said nothing in these debates to induce regret that he had vacated the Colonial Office before the crisis became acute.

The proposal to make the Executive Council dependent on the local Assembly, he dismissed as sheer confusion. It disregarded altogether "the wide and manifest distinction between an independent and a subordinate state," and the result of its adoption would be "to constitute two independent legislatures, interfering with and counteracting each other."<sup>33</sup> There can be little doubt

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVII, 1270.

<sup>31</sup>Russell was conscious of this difficulty, and he wrote to Melbourne later that he had "never felt in such embarrassment as when I had to defend the Canada Papers" (Walpole, *Lord John Russell*, I, 308).

<sup>32</sup>Hansard, XXXVII, 121 and 122.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVII, 118.

that in this he spoke for his new party associates, although Peel passed over this particular point without comment. The important resolutions were, in Peel's opinion, those dealing with the Legislative Council and the appropriation of revenue for the support of the unpaid officials in the colony. The remaining eight, including that on the Executive Council, he dismissed as "of a perfectly subordinate nature," requiring no discussion.<sup>34</sup>

Like Stanley he evidently regarded the movement in Lower Canada as republican and secessionist, although his language was more moderate than that of his new lieutenant. His concern was to defend the British settlers in the colony, and to secure to them the position which was their due. "They have a right to look up to this country," he declared, "not for predominance, not for exclusive privileges, but for British connection, on the faith of a constitution which this country has framed for them."<sup>35</sup> What that involved, and how the object was to be achieved, Peel did not state. But his opinion of what was required to secure British connection might not unreasonably be inferred from his twenty-five years of unremitting opposition to every attempt to weaken the hold of the Protestant oligarchy on the government of Ireland.

This was the first serious discussion of the great principle which, when illuminated by the genius of Lord Durham, was to transform the Empire. Yet the debates have scarcely been noticed by historians of the movement. One or two fragments have been selected from Russell's speeches to illustrate the logic which is alleged to have been the chief obstacle to progress; and these, removed from the context of debate, have assumed a sort of uniqueness which in fact they do not possess. The opinions of other groups and other leaders have been almost entirely neglected; and that neglect, strangely enough, has extended even to the minister who was presumably most directly concerned with the problem.

Lord Glenelg has generally been credited with a liberality towards the colonies, and an understanding of their difficulties, which contrasts strongly with the pedantic conservatism of Russell and other members of the Cabinet. Yet his statements on the principle of responsible government differ in no essential respect from those of his colleagues. The establishment of this rule, he said, would be of no great consequence, "if acts considered

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVII, 1282.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVII, 1284.

in a provincial parliament and connected with local affairs, had nothing external about them." But he clearly did not believe that that was possible. If this principle should be adopted, he continued, if an assembly which "disapproved of an act of parliament" could thereby force the councillors to vacate their office, then each provincial legislature would be in fact an independent parliament. "It would decide in matters of foreign policy and exercise its judgment independent of the parent country"; and the result would be to transform these communities into a "series of independent states, each exercising independent functions."<sup>38</sup>

The Whigs were not quick to recognize the emergence of democracy in the colonies and to adjust their ideas to this new development. Their minds were attuned to the slower tempo of an aristocratic system which had been modified, but not displaced, by the Act of 1832. But their insight, as revealed by these debates, was not noticeably inferior to that of their critics. The legislative supremacy of Parliament was still, in the minds of all responsible statesmen, the central point of the whole structure of imperial government; and Russell and his colleagues did not err in concluding that the establishment of executive responsibility in the colonies would undermine and ultimately destroy this supremacy. To the Radicals, most of whom were convinced that in any case the dissolution of the Empire was imminent, this was no doubt an academic question; but to men who took a longer view the problem was not so simple.

The practical value, and indeed the necessity of that authority had been demonstrated as recently as 1833 by the Act which abolished slavery, over the protests of a number of local legislatures, most of which were more ancient and more firmly established than was that in Lower Canada, and no one, outside the group whose pecuniary interests were affected, was disposed to quarrel, either with the result, or with the arguments by which intervention had then been justified. On that occasion the role of logician was taken by Stanley. His language, as Professor Davis has pointed out, was not that which would have commended itself to Burke in a similar situation. Much less was it the language of Fox. But it is safe to assume that neither of these statesmen would have disagreed with this particular use of the superintending power, nor with the conclusion that no colonial legislature could be permitted "to set itself in opposition to the laws, regulations,

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 722.



and avowed determinations of parliament."<sup>37</sup> The issue in Canada was of a different order, but on the evidence, the necessity of retaining this power of intervention seemed hardly less compelling.

#### IV

The period which followed was a time of troubles for Melbourne and his colleagues. That they survived and struggled through their six unsteady years of power, was due in large measure to Russell's leadership in the House of Commons.<sup>38</sup> Upon him, in the opinion of many contemporaries, the strength of the ministry depended. "He is beyond all comparison the ablest man in the whole administration," wrote one observer. The others, including the Prime Minister, might depart without inconvenience, and with some advantage to the country. "But, in five minutes after the departure of Lord John Russell, the whole Whig government would be dissolved into sparks of liberality and splinters of reform."<sup>39</sup> In some respects that might have been no great loss; but it is improbable that any government which could have replaced the Whigs during those years would have chosen either Lord Durham or Poulett Thomson for the tasks entrusted to them in Canada; and without the work of these two, the history of Canada and of the Empire in the generation that followed would hardly have been as it was.

Russell's preoccupation with the affairs of Canada, especially during and after Durham's mission, is attested by his correspondence.<sup>40</sup> Like Melbourne, he was, of course, anxious about the effect of the crisis on the fate of the ministry; but his anxiety, unlike that of the Prime Minister, did not stop there. He was convinced of the urgent need for change in the whole conduct of colonial affairs; and he protested, regularly but ineffectually, against the continuance of Lord Glenelg in an office for which he was, by the testimony of almost all his contemporaries, wholly unfitted.<sup>41</sup> Melbourne did not disagree with the criticism; but

<sup>37</sup>Quoted, H. W. C. Davis, *Age of Grey and Peel* (Oxford, 1929), 243.

<sup>38</sup>Victoria's refusal to give up her Whig ladies was also of some importance.

<sup>39</sup>Sydney Smith's *Works*, quoted in Walpole, *Lord John Russell*, I, 303; H. Reeve (ed.), *Greville Memoirs* (London, 1896), IV, 302.

<sup>40</sup>Rollo Russell, *Lord John Russell, Correspondence*, I, 215 ff; L. C. Sanders, *Lord Melbourne's Papers* (London, 1889), 432 ff.

<sup>41</sup>Rollo Russell, *Lord John Russell, Correspondence*, II, 228, 244, 245. Russell successfully defended Glenelg against the motions of censure introduced by Molesworth and Peel in March, 1838; but he was fortunate in having Radicals and Conservatives virtually cancel one another out (Speech in Hansard, XLI, 669; Walpole, *Lord John Russell*, I, 296). Howick attributed much of the difficulty to Melbourne's own indifference (Sanders, *Lord Melbourne's Papers*, 423).

since there was no suitable office to which Glenelg could be transferred, and since it was impossible to secure for him a pension adequate to support the rank which Melbourne himself had conferred on him, there was nothing to be done.<sup>42</sup> It was not until February, 1839, that a change was effected, through the combined efforts of Russell and Howick. The substitution of Lord Normanby, who as Viceroy of Ireland during the preceding four years, had been the decorous figurehead of a reforming government directed by Russell from the Home Office, and by Lord Morpeth and Thomas Drummond from Dublin Castle, was not a conspicuous improvement; and little change was apparent until Russell himself went to the Colonial Office, and with the assistance of Poulett Thomson began the task of bringing order out of the confusion which recent events had produced in the Canadas.

Little need here be said of their work. Together they laid the foundations upon which Canadian self-government has been built; and without those foundations it is safe to assume that neither Lord Durham's *Report*, nor Joseph Howe's somewhat naïve instructions to Russell on the art of governing dependencies would have accomplished very much. To Thomson belongs the chief credit for what was achieved. His personal qualities and his previous experience in politics and in business fitted him in a unique way for the difficult task.<sup>43</sup> In the opinion of Professor Martin, he was perhaps the one man then living who could have achieved what he did achieve.<sup>44</sup> But his appointment was mainly due to Russell's influence, and without the support and assistance of the Colonial Secretary, it may be doubted whether Thomson could have succeeded.<sup>45</sup>

Russell's view of the problem was based on a realistic interpretation of the evidence before him. That evidence, it need hardly be added, was not encouraging. By the statements of Lord Durham and his associates, the Province of Lower Canada, and to a lesser extent Upper Canada as well, were in a state bordering on anarchy. Shortly after his arrival in Quebec, Durham had written his impressions of the state of the colony in terms that left little to be said. "Not government merely, but society itself seems to be almost dissolved; the vessel of the State is not in great danger only, as I had been previously led to suppose, but looks

<sup>42</sup>Sanders, *Lord Melbourne's Papers*, 433.

<sup>43</sup>G. P. Scrope, *Memoir of Lord Sydenham* (London, 1844), 269.

<sup>44</sup>Martin, *Empire and Commonwealth*, 247.

<sup>45</sup>Thomson's own evidence is conclusive on this point. Scrope, *Lord Sydenham*, 270. See also Scrope's dedication to Russell, iii, iv.



like a complete wreck."<sup>46</sup> In his final *Report* he went out of his way to confirm that statement; and indeed, the section of the *Report* dealing with French Canada amounts to little more than a collection of evidence, some of it of very doubtful value, intended to strengthen his conclusion that the racial feud which divided the province was so pervasive, so constant, and so intense, that the restoration of government under the forms of the old constitution was impossible.<sup>47</sup>

Practically the entire population of the lower province were, according to his evidence, incorrigibly disloyal. Never again would that generation "yield a loyal submission to a British government." "They would purchase vengeance and a momentary triumph by the aid of any enemy, or submission to any yoke. . . . An invading American army might rely on the co-operation of almost the entire French Canadian population of Lower Canada."

Nor was the danger arising from open disloyalty, or from antipathy to British forms of government, confined to the lower province. Upper Canada was fortunately free from the deadly effects of racial strife. The contest here was more clearly of a political character; but the form which it had taken led to dangers only less serious than those in the neighbouring colony. What the majority of the residents of Upper Canada desired was "such a responsibility of the government as would break up the present monopoly of office and influence." But the seeming impossibility of securing that object under existing conditions had inclined many men, who began with more moderate views, to prefer a republican form of government similar to that in the neighbouring states. "It cannot be doubted," said Durham, "that the events of the past year have greatly increased the difficulty of settling the disorder of Upper Canada. A degree of discontent approaching, if not amounting to disaffection, has gained considerable ground."<sup>48</sup>

Russell was not an alarmist. He was inclined to believe, or at least to hope, that Durham's forcible language was perhaps an over-statement.<sup>49</sup> From his work in Ireland he had become familiar with the kind of charge which branded a whole people

<sup>46</sup>Kennedy, *Statutes . . . of Canadian Constitution*, 359.

<sup>47</sup>C. P. Lucas, *The Durham Report* (Oxford, 1912), II, 53-60.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, 148-65.

<sup>49</sup>Russell, *Speeches and Dispatches*, II, 56. Twice in this speech he expressed regret that Durham had been unable to remain in Canada long enough to complete his investigation.

with disloyalty; and he had some skill in appraising it at its true value. But for what it was worth, Durham's evidence tended to confirm the reports of Lord Gosford and his fellow commissioners on the state of Lower Canada. He was dealing then, not with an abstract proposition, but with an actual situation, described by men who were presumed to know the facts in the most extreme terms.

He accepted the recommendations of the *Report* on most points. The union of the provinces had already been decided, although legislative action was postponed, with Durham's blessing,<sup>50</sup> until the wishes of the Canadian people could be more certainly known, and until the political situation in England should be more propitious. That was the measure on which Russell pinned his hopes. He had the average Englishman's contempt for the institutions of French Canada which the Act of 1791 had preserved.<sup>51</sup> With Durham and Buller he believed that the interests of the French race in Canada would be better served by placing them under a truly British government, but he refrained from the language in which some of the liberal reformers expressed themselves on this subject. "Is it for the benefit of the country," asked Buller, "that the masses of the people should speak a language different from that of the governing body and the people of property? If we would make them civilised and free men, we must put them on an equality with the rest of the population; we must make them adopt the language and institutions of North America."<sup>52</sup> The doctrine of assimilation, even when interpreted by a liberal like Buller, might yield results which Fox probably did not anticipate. The union, the settlement, for a time at least, of the dispute over the clergy reserves, and the various other measures adopted by Thomson and steadily supported by Russell, restored stability and gave to the provinces a degree of tranquillity which they had not known for a long time past. There remained the great question of principle.

Russell took the question seriously. He did not, like Lord Durham, regard it as "an isolated topic in the report."<sup>53</sup> It involved a matter of principle upon which, as he believed, it was necessary to be clear and precise. He had already stated his opinion in unequivocal terms, and neither Buller nor any of the

<sup>50</sup>Hansard, XLIX, 879, July 26, 1839.

<sup>51</sup>Russell, *Speeches and Dispatches*, II, 53.

<sup>52</sup>Hansard, XLVIII, 1202. Leader pointed out that this was precisely what Tory governments had been trying to do in Ireland (*ibid.*, 1204).

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, XLIX, 880.

other reformers had dissented from them. If Parliament were to concur in the views of the Assembly, he said in 1837, "Canada would cease to be a colony, and would be regulated by an authority there, independent and subversive of the power of the British crown."<sup>54</sup> That was a simple statement of fact. It was also, with the exception of the last phrase, a prediction which later history has entirely justified. In 1839 he merely re-stated his views, supplementing them by reference to some recent events in Canada and in New Brunswick which, in his judgment, demonstrated more clearly the necessity of retaining ultimate control in the hands of the imperial authority.

He had no confidence in Durham's plan of separating matters of imperial concern from matters of purely domestic interest. There was, he believed, no possible line of demarcation between these, and any attempt to draw such a line and to adhere to it as a matter of principle, would lead only to dispute and conflict. There were, of course, numerous subjects upon which the opinion of the local assembly ought to prevail; and Russell's selection of the question of the clergy reserves as an illustration suggests that it was not his intention to confine the Assemblies to the trivialities of local administration. "That," he said, "is as much a rule of sense as of generosity." But in the last analysis, the authority of the crown must be maintained. "It is quite impossible to allow it to be laid down as a general principle that any part of the government of this country, conducted by ministers having the sanction of this house, shall be overruled by a colony, and that such a colony shall not be subject to the general superintending authority of the crown of these realms."

All this—and there was much of it<sup>55</sup>—may be dismissed as a barren exercise in logic chopping. But, having regard to the voluminous evidence which preceded this "isolated topic in the report," there is something to be said for the view that Russell's statements contained a good deal of plain common sense. This was the doctrine which he incorporated in his famous dispatch to Poulett Thomson on October 14, 1839.<sup>56</sup> It was characteristic of him that he should write the constitutional history of England in such a document; but it was equally characteristic that he should state his views in clear and uncompromising terms.

<sup>54</sup>Russell, *Speeches and Dispatches*, II, 484. This speech is here incorrectly dated March 6, 1836.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 64-70.

<sup>56</sup>Kennedy, *Statutes . . . of Canadian Constitution*, 421.

Durham's own ideas on this subject are not so easy to determine. He declined to make use of the term "responsible government" in the way in which it was being used by his supporters; and in his explanation to the House of Lords on July 26, 1839, he gave no indication of how or when he would inaugurate the change.

It was his conviction [he said] that no government could be established which could give permanent satisfaction, which was not founded upon a principle, and conducted in such a manner as to carry with it the feelings and approbation of the people of the colony. He did not say that he would proceed immediately to the constitution of such a government, or that he would take ministers from the house of assembly and so form a responsible government; but he did say that, if they gave to the Canadian people all the freedom which they themselves enjoyed with respect to representative institutions, . . . and yet denied to them the results of that freedom, it was impossible to imagine that there would be satisfaction in the colony.<sup>87</sup>

Probably no one seriously disagreed with the proposition as thus stated. At least there is no evident difference between this and the formula laid down by Russell a few weeks earlier, that "the executive should be carried on in such a way that their measures should be agreeable and acceptable to the representatives of the people." In 1837 he had proposed that the majority of the Executive Council in Lower Canada should be selected from the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly.<sup>88</sup> That was of course coupled with a distinct proviso reserving the discretionary authority of the Governor; but it seems improbable that Durham himself, or indeed any of the more thoughtful reformers, would have dispensed with that safeguard. The reformers throughout the Empire, who made "responsible government" their watchword, and who adopted the *Report* as their gospel, put the emphasis on this one section of it. But it seems pretty clear that in those last months of his life, Durham himself was more interested in the practical reforms which Russell and Thomson were carrying out—in the union, the settlement of the dispute over the clergy reserves, the establishment of a system of local government, and the adjustment of the financial relations between the colonial government and the Assembly—than in this "isolated topic" with which the *Report* concludes.

He was not less desirous than Russell of retaining all existing prerogatives of the crown, and of making use of certain prerogatives which had not hitherto been employed. The problem was

<sup>87</sup>Hansard, XLIX, 890.

<sup>88</sup>Russell, *Speeches and Dispatches*, I, 488.

not to establish a theory of government, but to put an end to the rule of an oligarchy which, like that with which Russell had been contending in Ireland, was charged with responsibility for most of the ills from which the colonies suffered. That evil was dealt with in Russell's dispatch on the tenure of colonial officials, which revived to good purpose a prerogative which had fallen into desuetude.<sup>59</sup> That the purpose was to free the Governor from the toils of "the Compact" and to increase his personal power, takes nothing from the importance of the change. An evil tradition was broken. A precedent was established; and the way was opened for the development which followed. That the change came so quickly and so peacefully was due in the main to the statesmanship of the Canadian leaders, and to the fact that the people who supported them were neither so disloyal, nor so given to senseless agitation, as Durham had led Russell and his colleagues to believe. But it was due in some measure also to the common sense and clear vision which characterized the work of the Colonial Office during this period of reconstruction.

Russell did not for many years afterwards abandon his views on the probable consequences of the change; and for that he has been severely criticized. Professor Coupland has taken him to task for having failed to confess his error and shrive his soul when an opportunity presented itself in 1850.<sup>60</sup> But it may be suggested that he did not confess his error, because in fact he had committed no error. His position throughout the discussion was perfectly clear. If responsible government, as understood by the more enthusiastic reformers, were conceded, Canada would cease to be a colony; and if Durham's evidence could be relied upon, there was some reason to believe that Canada would shortly cease to be a part of the British Empire. There was in truth no reality in the classification of the subject matter of government; and Russell rightly declined to place much confidence in Howe's simple assurance that a colonial Assembly, which had strayed beyond its allotted field and invaded the area reserved to the imperial authority, would obediently withdraw as soon as they were notified of the error. That was not in the nature of political assemblies;

<sup>59</sup>Kennedy, *Statutes . . . of Canadian Constitution*, 423.

<sup>60</sup>Coupland, *American Revolution*, 306. Considering the large powers reserved to the imperial government in the *Report*, it seems hardly accurate to speak, as Professor Coupland does, of the "unanswerable case which Durham made for giving the Canadians an equal power with Englishmen to fashion and control their own government" (*ibid.*, 302).

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<sup>61</sup>J. L. Morison, *British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government* (Glasgow, 1919), 263.

PETER MITCHELL, GUARDIAN OF THE NORTH  
ATLANTIC FISHERIES, 1867-1871

IN May, 1867, John A. Macdonald, who had been commissioned by Lord Monck to form the first Dominion Cabinet, invited a strong supporter of union in New Brunswick, Leonard Tilley, to be a member of his administration and to choose his own associate. "Is it to be Mitchell, Fisher, Wilmot, or who?" he wrote. "Make up your mind and bring him with you."<sup>1</sup> Tilley's choice fell upon Peter Mitchell who, as Prime Minister of New Brunswick and a member of the Westminster Hotel Conference of 1866-7, had supported a union of the provinces and had assisted in writing into the British North America Act a guarantee for the construction of an intercolonial railway.<sup>2</sup> His services were recognized by Tilley and commended to Macdonald; his reward was the portfolio of Marine and Fisheries and a seat in the Senate.

During his term of office Mitchell was loyal to the Prime Minister and popular with his colleagues.<sup>3</sup> As an administrator he was conscientious and efficient, but he knew little of the arts of diplomacy and was a relentless foe. An aggressive Canadian who favoured a union of the provinces and yet who looked upon the new federation through provincial eyes, he was a constant source of worry and annoyance to the British government because he insisted upon a literal interpretation of the Treaty of 1818. In London, where the *Alabama* claims hung over Downing Street like a pall, his policy seemed reckless and dangerous. Thus for more than three years he stood as a bold defender of Dominion autonomy and the "stormy petrel" of Anglo-American relations.

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Durham's own ideas on this subject are not so easy to determine. He declined to make use of the term "responsible government" in the way in which it was being used by his supporters; and in his explanation to the House of Lords on July 26, 1839, he gave no indication of how or when he would inaugurate the change.

It was his conviction [he said] that no government could be established which could give permanent satisfaction, which was not founded upon a principle, and conducted in such a manner as to carry with it the feelings and approbation of the people of the colony. He did not say that he would proceed immediately to the constitution of such a government, or that he would take ministers from the house of assembly and so form a responsible government; but he did say that, if they gave to the Canadian people all the freedom which they themselves enjoyed with respect to representative institutions, . . . and yet denied to them the results of that freedom, it was impossible to imagine that there would be satisfaction in the colony.<sup>87</sup>

Probably no one seriously disagreed with the proposition as thus stated. At least there is no evident difference between this and the formula laid down by Russell a few weeks earlier, that "the executive should be carried on in such a way that their measures should be agreeable and acceptable to the representatives of the people." In 1837 he had proposed that the majority of the Executive Council in Lower Canada should be selected from the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly.<sup>88</sup> That was of course coupled with a distinct proviso reserving the discretionary authority of the Governor; but it seems improbable that Durham himself, or indeed any of the more thoughtful reformers, would have dispensed with that safeguard. The reformers throughout the Empire, who made "responsible government" their watchword, and who adopted the *Report* as their gospel, put the emphasis on this one section of it. But it seems pretty clear that in those last months of his life, Durham himself was more interested in the practical reforms which Russell and Thomson were carrying out—in the union, the settlement of the dispute over the clergy reserves, the establishment of a system of local government, and the adjustment of the financial relations between the colonial government and the Assembly—than in this "isolated topic" with which the *Report* concludes.

He was not less desirous than Russell of retaining all existing prerogatives of the crown, and of making use of certain prerogatives which had not hitherto been employed. The problem was

<sup>87</sup>Hansard, XLIX, 880.

<sup>88</sup>Russell, *Speeches and Dispatches*, I, 488.



not to establish a theory of government, but to put an end to the rule of an oligarchy which, like that with which Russell had been contending in Ireland, was charged with responsibility for most of the ills from which the colonies suffered. That evil was dealt with in Russell's dispatch on the tenure of colonial officials, which revived to good purpose a prerogative which had fallen into desuetude.<sup>59</sup> That the purpose was to free the Governor from the toils of "the Compact" and to increase his personal power, takes nothing from the importance of the change. An evil tradition was broken. A precedent was established; and the way was opened for the development which followed. That the change came so quickly and so peacefully was due in the main to the statesmanship of the Canadian leaders, and to the fact that the people who supported them were neither so disloyal, nor so given to senseless agitation, as Durham had led Russell and his colleagues to believe. But it was due in some measure also to the common sense and clear vision which characterized the work of the Colonial Office during this period of reconstruction.

Russell did not for many years afterwards abandon his views on the probable consequences of the change; and for that he has been severely criticized. Professor Coupland has taken him to task for having failed to confess his error and shrive his soul when an opportunity presented itself in 1850.<sup>60</sup> But it may be suggested that he did not confess his error, because in fact he had committed no error. His position throughout the discussion was perfectly clear. If responsible government, as understood by the more enthusiastic reformers, were conceded, Canada would cease to be a colony; and if Durham's evidence could be relied upon, there was some reason to believe that Canada would shortly cease to be a part of the British Empire. There was in truth no reality in the classification of the subject matter of government; and Russell rightly declined to place much confidence in Howe's simple assurance that a colonial Assembly, which had strayed beyond its allotted field and invaded the area reserved to the imperial authority, would obediently withdraw as soon as they were notified of the error. That was not in the nature of political assemblies;

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ministers who, because of the *Alabama* claims, hesitated to give the fisheries the naval protection they had enjoyed prior to 1854, they decided to adopt a system of licences whereby American fishermen might, through the payment of a small fee, continue to fish in provincial waters.<sup>4</sup> The fee was fixed at fifty cents per ton weight of the vessel, which was considered a mere assertion of right and in no sense a measure of value.<sup>5</sup> The British commander of the North American fleet, Sir James Hope, recommended that the amount be increased at the end of the first year, although it might still remain moderate; after the second year it should be doubled annually until it became prohibitory.<sup>6</sup> In the meantime it was hoped that the United States might render continuation of the fee unnecessary by admitting Canadian fish to American markets duty free. The Lords of the Admiralty instructed Sir James not to molest American fishermen unless engaged in fishing within three miles of the shore or within bays and harbours less than ten miles wide at the entrance, and to warn them three times before forcing them to purchase a licence or be expelled from the fishing grounds.<sup>7</sup> The instructions were unpopular in the provinces; the first order was considered a failure to support the agreement of 1818, and the second would enable foreign fishermen to spend a considerable time in Canadian waters before being expelled.

The licence system was operated by the provincial governments for the fishing seasons of 1866 and 1867. During the first year nearly eight hundred American vessels entered British American waters, and of these four hundred and fifty-four paid the required fee.<sup>8</sup> The following year, to the surprise of the Colonial Office, the Maritime Provinces raised the fee to one dollar per ton, while the Canadian rate remained at fifty cents.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup>The licence system was adopted by the Canadian Privy Council in March, 1866. The Maritime Provinces accepted the plan in June of the same year, although Nova Scotia did so unwillingly.

<sup>5</sup>Public Archives of Canada, Series G, vol. 220, Lord Monck to Lord Carnarvon, Aug. 18, 1866.

<sup>6</sup>Report of the Privy Council of Canada (*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1869, II(12), 8. Series G, vol. 220, Hope to Carnarvon, July 7, 1866; Monck to Lord Carnarvon, Aug. 18, 1866 (*supra*).

<sup>7</sup>Public Record Office, London, C.O. 42, vol. 686, the Admiralty to Hope, April 12, 1866. Note *infra* Lord Granville to Sir John Young, later Lord Lisgar, June 6, 1870.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 684, Colonial Office to Foreign Office, March 12, 1870. Mitchell's Report dated February 27, 1868 (*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1869, II(12), 3). The income from the licences was \$13,016.

<sup>9</sup>*Canada, Sessional papers*, 1869, II(12), 1, 2, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos to Lord Monck, July 6 and Sept. 3, 1867. The fee was made uniform at one dollar per ton in August, 1867 (Macdonald Papers, Governor-General's Correspondence, II, 62-6, Monck to Macdonald, July 20, 1867; Mitchell to Macdonald, Aug. 3 and 8, 1867). L. B. Shippee, *Canadian-American Relations, 1849-74* (New Haven, 1939), 266.

The Americans used the higher rate as an excuse for not paying the fee; less than three hundred licences were sold.

With the formation of the Dominion of Canada the North Atlantic fisheries came under the control of the federal government and especially of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries. When considering his future policy, Mitchell had four proposals before him: to continue the policy of 1866; to increase the fee to a sum representing the value of the liberty conceded; to prohibit United States fishermen from fishing in colonial waters; or to propose to the government at Washington the opening of the American market to Canadian fish in exchange for complete freedom to fish in Canadian waters.<sup>10</sup> The minister considered the first inadequate and unprofitable, and the fourth impossible to attain. The third, while "obviously that one which sooner or later must be adopted," was fraught with disagreeable and perhaps dangerous complications. Hence, he decided to adopt the second, a policy which received the support of Hope's successor, Sir Rodney Mundy.<sup>11</sup> On Mitchell's advice, Dr. Charles Tupper, who was proceeding to London to oppose Joseph Howe's efforts to take Nova Scotia out of the union, was instructed to obtain permission from the British government to raise the fee to two dollars per ton and to reduce the number of warnings from three to one. Buckingham readily admitted that three warnings made it impossible to enforce any penalty for not taking out licences, and he was willing to instruct the Admiralty in the future to require only one.<sup>12</sup> Nor was he personally opposed to an increase in the licence fee, but he knew that the Foreign Secretary was not of the same mind. Lord Stanley's views were influenced by an ever-growing tension on the European continent, and he was therefore anxious to keep on friendly terms with the western world. "Lord Stanley's policy is evidently one of abject dread of the United States and to give them anything British American that they ask," Tupper wrote to Macdonald.<sup>13</sup> Thus Mitchell was not surprised to learn that the Foreign Secretary had refused his consent both to a decrease in the number of warnings and in the fee.<sup>14</sup> Macdonald then came to the aid of his minister. "There is no justification for any hesitation or refusal in the matter," he wrote Tupper.<sup>15</sup> Finally

<sup>10</sup>Mitchell, *Report*.

<sup>11</sup>Series G, vol. 558, Mundy to the Admiralty, Nov. 29, 1867.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, Buckingham to Monck, March 8, 1868.

<sup>13</sup>Charles Tupper, *Recollections of Sixty Years* (Toronto, 1914), 80.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 86, Tupper to Buckingham, April 20, 1868.

<sup>15</sup>Public Archives of Canada, Macdonald papers, Letterbooks, XI, 896, Macdonald to Tupper, April 30, 1868; Shippee, *Canadian-American Relations*, 267.

under Canadian pressure Stanley yielded and the fee was increased to two dollars per ton.<sup>16</sup>

Having thus partially overcome British reluctance to the assertion of Dominion rights, Mitchell next turned to the more difficult task of finding adequate means for the detection and expulsion of unlicensed fishermen. As a means to this end he had before him a recommendation by one of Mundy's captains that the Canadian government employ a number of schooners to watch for unlicensed vessels, and that boats from the men-of-war be asked to assist them. Mitchell seized upon the second suggestion, and recommended to the Privy Council that instead of incurring the cost of using decked vessels, boats' crews be employed at strategic points along the coast for the purpose of selling licences and reporting to local fishing officers the presence of unlicensed vessels.<sup>17</sup> The recommendation was too late to be effective in 1868, but the crews were used with considerable success during the following year.<sup>18</sup>

In spite of Mitchell's activity, the fishing season of 1868 was far from satisfactory to his Department, as only sixty-eight vessels purchased the required licences.<sup>19</sup> Various explanations were offered for the great decrease in fees. Some declared it was the result of a poor fishing season, and others placed the blame at the door of the Admiralty and Foreign Office. The member of the House of Commons for Guysborough County, Stewart Campbell, reported that the immediate cause was to be found in the inhabitants of Prince Edward Island, who in their anxiety to attract Americans to their shores, permitted the Convention of 1818 to go unrecognized. An investigation showed that Campbell's suspicions were correct, and that the Island was granting as ample privileges as were enjoyed under the Reciprocity Treaty.<sup>20</sup> Mitchell was anxious to end "such an anomalous state of things," and expressed the conviction that the whole licence system should be abolished in favour of a policy more agreeable to colonial interests and consistent with national dignity and rights.<sup>21</sup> He

<sup>16</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1869, no. 12, 9, Buckingham to Monck, May 9, 1868.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 12-13, *Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries*, May 22, 1868.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, April 29, 1869, 34-5. Boats' crews were stationed at Port Hood, Mulgrave, Digby, and Westport in Nova Scotia, and at L'Etang Harbour, West Isles, and Miramichi in New Brunswick.

<sup>19</sup>Of these forty-nine were sold in Nova Scotia (*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1869, no. 12, Stewart Campbell, M.P. for Guysborough, to Mitchell, Feb. 2, 1869).

<sup>20</sup>P. M. Mulock, "The North Atlantic Fisheries, 1866-71" (Master's thesis, unpublished, Acadia University, 1939). The letters from Campbell to Mitchell are in *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1869, no. 12, 25-9.

<sup>21</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1869, no. 12, 31-2, Nov. 9 and 10.

realized, however, that the British government was not yet prepared to adopt a policy of exclusion, and he therefore contented himself with asking the Admiralty for greater co-operation in enforcing the existing regulations.

The request was presented to the Colonial Secretary by two of Mitchell's colleagues, Georges E. Cartier and William McDougall, who were in London to complete arrangements for the purchase of the lands of the Hudson's Bay Company. They informed the Colonial Secretary that vessels fishing without licences had caused great loss and annoyance to the Canadian government, and the experiences of the past had proved that the licence system could not be properly enforced unless the vessels in the service of Canada were "aided and assisted by Her Majesty's Navy."<sup>22</sup>

The Colonial Office sent the Canadian petition to the Lords of the Admiralty for their information and action. Their Lordships at once pointed out that in their opinion it was not expedient to employ Her Majesty's ships at the cost of the people of Great Britain for "police and revenue purposes in colonial waters," and urged that the Dominion of Canada be permitted to invoke the Colonial Defence Act and organize a local marine police sufficient to protect her revenue and enforce her fishing laws. Until this could be done, they recommended that the Canadian government should be required to pay the expenses of the naval vessels while in colonial waters.<sup>23</sup>

Mitchell was not alone in his opposition to this proposal, as the Colonial Office saw in it material for an explosion. Canadians were already offended by the recent withdrawal of imperial troops from North America, and to refuse them protection for their fisheries would add fuel to the fire. Again, if Mitchell were told he must protect the fisheries unaided, he would do it in his own way and this would precipitate the very conflict Her Majesty's government was seeking to avoid.<sup>24</sup> The Lords of the Admiralty were therefore informed that it was not their duty to formulate either foreign or colonial policy, but to carry out the policies al-

<sup>22</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 683, Cartier and McDougall to the Colonial Office, March 23, 1869. The Canadians also expressed a fear that Britain would negotiate a trade agreement with the United States without consulting Canada, and they urged compensation for the loss of property caused by Fenians.

<sup>23</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 679, Lords of the Admiralty to Sir F. Rogers, April 12, 1869. Rogers was Colonial Under-Secretary.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, Colonial Office comment after Admiralty to Colonial Office, April 12, 1869. Lord Granville himself first favoured allowing Canada to look after her own fisheries, but he soon changed his views (C.O. 42, vol. 684, June 21, 1869).



ready determined. Their Lordships then instructed Mundy to send his ships to the fishing grounds, but he was warned "to omit no precaution likely to prevent a collision between the subjects of Her Majesty and the citizens of the United States," and to endeavour to bring colonial vessels employed in the service under British command.<sup>25</sup> A similar attempt to place Canadian protective vessels under the command of the British Vice-Admiral had been tried in 1866, but had failed; it now met with no better success, for on June 24 the Canadian Privy Council approved of Mitchell's memorandum that Dominion officers were employed in a civil capacity, and as such were not under naval control.<sup>26</sup>

After protesting that the message of Cartier and McDougall suggested that "little or no protection was being given by Her Majesty's Ships," whereas four ships had been on the fishing grounds from 1866 to 1868, Mundy ordered the *Niobe*, *Dart*, *Royalist*, and *Mullett* to assist their sister ship, *Minstrel*, which was already on the Banks.<sup>27</sup> But since Mundy repeated to the officers his instructions to avoid all possible complications with the United States, their activities were somewhat limited. When Mitchell accused the naval officers of inaction, Mundy blamed the situation on the refusal of Canadian officials to obey his instructions, and pointed out that the chief ship in Dominion service, the *Druid*, was often absent from her post.<sup>28</sup> Mitchell requested that British officers be permitted to sell licences, but this Mundy refused to allow.<sup>29</sup> He suggested, however, that Canadian agents might be carried on the cruisers, a proposal which was immediately vetoed by the Colonial Office.<sup>30</sup> A year later Canadian police vessels were given some recognition by being permitted to fly a special flag or pendant.<sup>31</sup> Yet in spite of these improvements, American fishermen preferred to run the risk of capture rather than pay a two dollar fee; during 1869 the cruisers examined one hundred and sixty-two vessels, only twelve of which were licensed. One hundred and thirty-one were warned once and nineteen more than once, but few actual seizures were made.<sup>32</sup> Many of the

<sup>25</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 679, Colonial Office note after Admiralty to Colonial Office, April 12, 1869.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, minute of the Canadian Privy Council, June 24, 1869; Mundy to the Admiralty, July 7, 1869.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, Mundy to Sir John Young, March 5, 1869.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, Mundy to the Admiralty, May 6 and July 7, 1869.

<sup>29</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1869, no. 12, 37-40, May 1, 1869.

<sup>30</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 679, June 5, 1869. Granville was made Colonial Secretary in the Gladstone government which came into office late in 1868.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 687, Young to Granville, June 9, 1870.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 679, Vice-Admiral Wellesley to the Admiralty, Nov. 18, 1869. Wellesley succeeded Mundy as commander in the North Atlantic.

American fishermen came ashore and some committed acts of disorder. The profits of trade led merchants to encourage violations of the law. Unlicensed vessels could easily detect the approach of cruisers, and were always more than three miles from the shore when the cruisers arrived.<sup>33</sup> Some Americans came to the fishing grounds armed with Enfield rifles which they threatened to use on Canadian revenue cutters.<sup>34</sup> Members of the Canadian House of Commons called the whole system a farce, and even Sir John Macdonald admitted that it was continued only because it seemed safer to keep on friendly terms "with our neighbours than to provoke them to hostilities by excluding them from the fishing grounds."<sup>35</sup>

On May 22, 1869, an article appeared in the London *Spectator* stating that the Canadian Parliament had declined to grant any more licences, and that trouble was likely to ensue between Great Britain and the United States. Mitchell promptly denied the rumour, and declared that the liberal and neighbourly policy adopted during the fishing seasons from 1866 to 1869 indicated the conciliatory disposition of the British and Canadian people. He added, however, that a permanent and satisfactory agreement could be made if the United States would establish trade relations mutually beneficial to both countries.<sup>36</sup>

The hope seemed likely to materialize when, after numerous petitions had reached the United States Congress asking for a new reciprocity agreement with the Canadian provinces, the American Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, requested the British Ambassador, Sir Edward Thornton, to call at the State Department for a discussion of commercial intercourse and the fisheries.<sup>37</sup> Thornton replied that he would need the assistance of some person "having the confidence and knowing the views of Canada." The Canadian Privy Council sent him their distinguished and diplomatic Minister of Finance, John Rose, who reached Washington in a "private and unofficial" capacity on July 8.<sup>38</sup> In company

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, Wellesley to Young, Nov. 18, 1869.

<sup>34</sup>Series G, Secretary of State, vol. II, Sir Edward Thornton (British Ambassador at Washington) to Sir John Young, Oct. 20, 1869. Enclosure from New York *Daily Tribune*.

<sup>35</sup>Montreal *Witness*, May 14, 1869; Mulock, *North Atlantic Fisheries*.

<sup>36</sup>Macdonald Papers, Governor-General's Correspondence, Mitchell to Macdonald, June 5, 1869.

<sup>37</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 370, Thornton to Lord Clarendon, June 14, 1869. Petitions asking for reciprocity came from the Boston Board of Trade and the New York Chamber of Commerce (*ibid.*).

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, Thornton to Clarendon, July 28, 1869; *ibid.*, vol. 680, Thornton to Clarendon, July 6, 1869; John Morley, *Life of Gladstone* (London, 1904, 3 vols.), II, 400.

with Thornton, Rose held conferences with Fish and the Secretary of the Treasury, George Boutwell, but little was accomplished. Finally, before he left the American capital, Rose presented the Secretary of State with a memorandum containing a list of articles which might be included in a new Reciprocity Treaty and informed him that unless the United States was prepared to liberalize trade with her neighbours, she must expect a different commercial policy from any government that might be in power at Ottawa.<sup>39</sup>

The Canadian Privy Council approved the Rose memorandum and awaited its acceptance or rejection by the American government. Fish, however, remained silent.<sup>40</sup> Macdonald favoured sending a delegation consisting of himself and his Finance Minister, Sir Francis Hincks, to Washington, but Thornton advised against it.<sup>41</sup> When Congress met, President Grant informed the members that his administration had considered the proposed reciprocity with British America unfavourably, and the House approved of the decision by a vote of 129 to 42.<sup>42</sup> Negotiations became even more difficult when the British government refused to consider any reciprocal agreement which included manufactured goods unless British goods received similar concessions. Hope was held out that an agreement might be reached on a few articles such as Nova Scotia coal, but even this concession would need the approval of the House Committee of Ways and Means.<sup>43</sup> The Canadian Privy Council declared that such an indefinite proposal was unworthy of consideration, and a later offer of free lumber and salt was called encouraging but unsatisfactory. Thornton was disappointed with the blunt reply, and he found little to encourage him. When the Macdonald government proposed a wider trade agreement which did not include the fisheries, Fish promptly declined to consider the new offer.<sup>44</sup> Granville was not sanguine concerning the negotiations, for he did not see how Canadians could hope to obtain reciprocity unless they were willing to surrender the fisheries. He agreed, however, that they

<sup>39</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 680, Thornton to Clarendon, Aug. 3, 1869; Pope, *Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald*, 93-4. Rose's memorandum is printed with comments by A. H. U. Calquhoun in *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VIII, 1927, 233-42. See also Shippee, *Canadian-American Relations*, 262-87.

<sup>40</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 680, Thornton to Clarendon, Aug. 14, 1869; Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish* (New York, 1937), 221.

<sup>41</sup>Macdonald Papers, Letterbooks, XIII, 467-8; Macdonald Papers, Governor-General's Correspondence, III, 214. Macdonald to Young and Young to Macdonald, Nov. 18, 1869; Shippee, *Canadian-American Relations*, 313.

<sup>42</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 690, Thornton to Clarendon, Dec. 10, 1869.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, Thornton to Clarendon, Dec. 24, 1869.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 691, Thornton to Clarendon, April 2, 1870.

were probably wise in making no further concessions until they became certain the American offer was sincere and final.<sup>45</sup>

Mitchell followed these negotiations with growing impatience. In his opinion the British policy of *laissez-faire* was inexplicable, as the rejection of the Johnson-Clarendon Agreement in the American Senate by an almost unanimous vote, followed by a disinclination to consider the Rose memorandum, were certain indications that the Grant administration was unwilling to negotiate on equitable terms. In his opinion a firmer policy should be adopted, and he could see no reason why an insistence on what were clearly Canadian rights would precipitate an armed conflict.<sup>46</sup> In any case he determined that, if a trade agreement proved impossible, a British-American commission should be set up, as proposed by Lord Clarendon and C. F. Adams when the latter was Ambassador in London, to determine British-American rights under the Treaty of 1818. If such a commission were not established, or if it failed to reach an agreement, he was prepared to abolish the licence system and adopt a policy of armed protection.<sup>47</sup> With his full approval the Macdonald government accepted the latter alternative, and on January 9, 1870, voted that no more licences should be issued. Thereafter no foreign vessel was to fish within three miles of the shore, even between headlands, and no such vessel was to be permitted to enter a Dominion port for any other purpose than to obtain shelter, food, and water.<sup>48</sup> To enforce his new policy, Mitchell employed six police vessels which were so similar to the American fishing schooners that their approach could not be easily detected; each vessel was assigned to duty along a particular section of the coast.<sup>49</sup>

Mitchell's policy of exclusion caused great perturbation in Downing Street and led to many anxious conclaves among the officials. Three alternatives presented themselves—to let Canadians fight it out with the New England fishermen, to request

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 690, Colonial Office to the Foreign Office, April 8, 1870.

<sup>46</sup>Macdonald Papers, Mitchell to Macdonald, June 5, 1869. The Johnson-Clarendon Agreement aimed at a settlement of British-American disputes by arbitration.

<sup>47</sup>*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1870, no. 11.

<sup>48</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 684, Young to Granville, Jan. 11, 1870. Macdonald Letterbooks, XIII, 933-4, Macdonald to Rose, Jan. 21, 1870; Shippee, *Canadian-American Relations*, 270.

<sup>49</sup>The areas patrolled by the police vessels were as follows: 1. North shore of the Bay of Fundy—headquarters, Saint John; 2. South coast of the Bay of Fundy—headquarters, Digby; 3. East coast of Cape Breton—headquarters, Sydney; 4. West coast of Cape Breton—headquarters, Port Hood; 5. North coast of Prince Edward Island—headquarters, Georgetown; the Gulf of Saint Lawrence including the east coast of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia—headquarters, Pictou.

that the licence system be retained, or to send an adequate but not offensive force to assist the Canadian marine police.<sup>50</sup> They feared that the first alternative would precipitate an immediate conflict, and the second would be opposed by the Canadian government. The third was therefore adopted with the understanding that time must be given for the Foreign Office to notify the American government of the new situation.<sup>51</sup> On April 19, Granville informed Sir John Young that the Admiralty had been requested to send a sufficient naval force to Canadian waters to protect the Canadian fisheries and to maintain order.<sup>52</sup> No warnings were to be given, and any foreign vessel found encroaching upon Canadian waters was to be seized at once. But the Vice-Admiral, Wellesley, was instructed to avoid all danger of conflict with American fishermen, and not to seize a vessel for illegal fishing "unless it was evident and could be clearly proved that the offence of fishing had been committed and the vessel itself captured in forbidden waters."<sup>53</sup> Under these orders no ship could be seized in a bay or harbour over six miles wide at the entrance, unless it came within three miles of the shore.

Mitchell sought to ignore the British regulations by instructing his officials to continue the rules of 1866 regarding bays and creeks "over ten geographical miles in width."<sup>54</sup> Some British officers followed these instructions until late in June. Granville finally insisted that Canadian orders conform with those of Great Britain.<sup>55</sup>

Mitchell surrendered ungraciously. No change should have been made without consulting the Canadian government, he declared, and it was now a reasonable presumption to assume that British cruisers did not intend to capture American vessels. He even went so far as to state that they had not captured an American schooner in the past four years, and that British policy, far from securing concessions from the United States, was likely to encourage Americans to continue in the course they had adopted.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 684, Colonial Office comment, after Young to Granville, Jan. 11, 1870.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 691, Thornton to Clarendon, April 25, 1870.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 684. The officials of the Colonial Office were agreed that Canadians were entitled to support in "the prudent exercise of their undoubted rights," but that they should not expect Great Britain to take the consequences of measures which her government thought imprudent.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 686, Admiralty instructions dated April 30, 1870; Young to Granville, June 3, 1870.

<sup>54</sup>Mitchell's *Instructions to Fishing Officers*, May 14, 1870.

<sup>55</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 687, Sir Frederic Rogers to Granville, June 9, 1870; Granville to Young, June 6 and 9, 1870; Young to Granville, June 23, 1870; Wire, Granville to Young, June 30, 1870.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, Young to Granville, July 11, 1870.

This bellicose attitude annoyed the Colonial Office where the situation at Ottawa was declared to be the result of the serious illness of the Prime Minister.<sup>57</sup> "I am afraid we shall get into difficulties," one of Granville's under-secretaries informed his chief. "Mr. Mitchell seems to me not very clear and rather pig-headed."<sup>58</sup> A week later the officials were even more disturbed. "Now that Macdonald is no longer at the helm, the Council adopts the views of Mr. Mitchell, the departmental officer, an acute man apparently, but who no doubt supposes that a department's success against its old enemies, the United States fishermen, is the object to which all others rather subordinate."<sup>59</sup> Under these circumstances, Granville set himself to find the safest possible compromise. To show the British government that he had the support of his colleagues, Mitchell encouraged the Privy Council to send one of their number, Alexander Campbell, to London "to endeavour to induce Her Majesty's Government to propose to the United States the appointment of a Joint High Commission *on which the Dominion should be represented.*" The Commission should be asked to settle long standing disputes between the British Empire and the United States, especially the "geographical limits of the exclusive fishing rights of Canada under the Treaty of 1818."<sup>60</sup> Granville agreed to receive the Canadian representative, but insisted that, pending negotiations, the three-mile-limit must be observed even in bays and harbours.<sup>61</sup>

When Campbell reached London, Granville had gone to the Foreign Office and Lord Kimberley was in control of the Colonies. Kimberley was anxious to conciliate the Dominions, and he therefore explained to the Privy Council, and especially to Mitchell, that the bays and harbours over six miles in width at the entrance were so few that Her Majesty's government favoured a temporary concession concerning them. In the meantime he was proposing to the Foreign Office that the question of the headlands be referred to a commission to be composed of representatives from the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, the commission to sit in America to determine the exact geographical limits intended by the Agreement of 1818, or to suggest some line of delimitation which, although not in exact conformity with the words of the

<sup>57</sup>Sir John Macdonald was taken suddenly ill on May 6, 1870 (Pope, *Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald*, 433).

<sup>58</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 686, comment after Young to Granville, June 3, 1870.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 687, comment after Young to Granville, June 9, 1870.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, Young to Granville, June 9, 1870. Campbell's instructions were dated June 14.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, Granville to Young, June 28, 1870.

Convention, might appear consistent with the just rights of the two nations.<sup>62</sup>

While Campbell was thus busy in England, Mitchell continued to disturb the peace of both London and Washington by insisting that American fishing vessels must not enter Canadian ports for any other purpose than to obtain shelter, fuel, and water. Kimberley sought to find a temporary settlement of the problem by following the procedure of European countries, but the Foreign Office could find no satisfactory precedents.<sup>63</sup> Finally, pending the appointment of the desired commission, Kimberley requested that British naval officers refrain from seizing American vessels for calling at Canadian ports.<sup>64</sup>

Meanwhile the New England fishermen and many other citizens of the United States were becoming disturbed by the growing tension in the North Atlantic. The *New York Times* declared that the fisheries contained highly explosive material which could lead to grave international complications.<sup>65</sup> An aggressive politician, General Benjamin Butler, favoured cutting off all commercial relations with Canada, but the *Washington Daily Republican* warned against such precipitate action. If they were unable to obtain a settlement of the *Alabama* claims, the editor declared, they ought not "to square off at Great Britain about a few boat loads of fish."<sup>66</sup> In any case, said the friends of peace, the inhabitants of Nova Scotia favour the visits of American fishermen to their ports, and in the end Ottawa must listen to the voice of the people.<sup>67</sup> But Secretary Fish complained to Ambassador Thornton that Canada was making extravagant claims under the Treaty of 1818, and suggested, through his assistant, Bancroft Davis, that Sir Edward, during a visit to Canada, request Macdonald and his ministers to adopt a more conciliatory attitude.<sup>68</sup>

Thornton called on Sir John Young at Quebec in the autumn of 1869 and discussed with three Canadian ministers, Cartier, Tupper, and Hincks, who in Macdonald's absence were practically in control of affairs, the possibilities of a more friendly attitude toward Washington; but all three supported Mitchell's position.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, Kimberley to Young, July 27, 1870; *ibid.*, vol. 691, Colonial Office to Foreign Office, Oct. 1, 1870; *ibid.*, vol. 687, Kimberley to Young, Aug. 11, 1870.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 689, Lord Kimberley's note.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*, Colonial Office to Admiralty, Aug. 23, 1870.

<sup>65</sup>March 17, 1870 (Mulock, *North Atlantic Fisheries*).

<sup>66</sup>October 21, 1870.

<sup>67</sup>The inhabitants on both sides of the Strait of Canso were said to be especially favourable to the American vessels entering their ports. Many of the fishermen on board the vessels were Nova Scotians.

<sup>68</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 691, Thornton to Granville, Sept. 12, 1870.



Tupper informed him that their course was logical and inevitable, while Hincks declared that the Cabinet was united on the policy.<sup>69</sup> The Ambassador did not consider it wise to argue the legality of the Canadian claims, but he considered them somewhat "unfriendly and unneighbourly."<sup>70</sup> At the December session of Congress President Grant referred to the unfriendly attitude of the semi-independent government across the border, and his officials threatened the withdrawal of Canadian bonding privileges. Macdonald saw in the speech some political propaganda engineered by the demagogue, Ben Butler, but Lord Kimberley took it more seriously and increased his efforts to secure arbitration.<sup>71</sup>

Although Mitchell's insistence on Canadian rights thus created the demand for a Joint High Commission, it took a change in international politics to make the Commission a reality. At Downing Street the Foreign Office became greatly alarmed as Bismarck continued to plunge Europe at "a dizzy speed toward the abyss."<sup>72</sup> In July Granville had been willing to "let sleeping dogs lie," and as late as August he was proud of his "masterly reserve" in dealing with the problems in North America. By October he was ready to negotiate. He therefore readily accepted Gladstone's suggestion that they "sweeten the Alabama Claims by bringing in Canada."<sup>73</sup> In Washington President Grant desired to refund part of the national debt by the sale of bonds in London and the success of the sale depended upon establishing peaceful relations between London and Washington. The President's quarrel with the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Charles Sumner, over the proposed annexation of Santo Domingo made him more willing to support Fish's policy of conciliation.<sup>74</sup> All that was now needed was a suitable agent to bring the two governments together.

Such an emissary was found in the former Canadian Minister of Finance, John Rose, who was now a member of the banking firm of Morton-Rose and Company of London. Rose had often reminded Granville that a kindly word or an expression of regret

<sup>69</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 688, Young to Kimberley, Sept. 3, 1870; Thornton to Granville, Oct. 18, 1870; Shippee, *Canadian-American Relations*, 278; Goldwin Smith, *The Treaty of Washington, 1871: A Study in Imperial History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1941), 5.

<sup>70</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 688, Young to Kimberley, Sept. 23, 1870.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, comment after Young to Kimberley.

<sup>72</sup>Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, II, 326.

<sup>73</sup>Paul Knaplund, *Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy* (New York, 1927), 121-2.

<sup>74</sup>For Sumner's extreme position on a settlement of the *Alabama* claims, see Allan Nevins's *Hamilton Fish*. Sumner was particularly anxious for the withdrawal of Great Britain from the North American continent.

from London would exert more influence than the most "irrefragable reasoning on the principles of international law," and ever since his visit to Washington in 1869 he had been in communication with Secretary Fish in order to keep him informed of the changing pattern of European politics. The Foreign Secretary sent Rose to Washington where he soon won the consent of the American government to the appointment of a Joint High Commission.<sup>75</sup> Canada secured representation on the Commission through the appointment of her Prime Minister as one of the five British Commissioners. She thus took a new step toward nationhood.<sup>76</sup> Although the Commission gave to Canada less than Macdonald and his colleagues had desired, the Treaty of Washington was ratified by the Canadian Parliament and it proved quite satisfactory to the provinces by the sea. Under these conditions Mitchell felt that his efforts to uphold Canadian rights had not been in vain.

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<sup>75</sup>Rose's letters to Granville describing his activities in Washington are in the Foreign Office Records 1297 and 1298. See also Smith, *The Treaty of Washington*, Nevins, *Hamilton Fish*, and Shippee, *Canadian-American Relations*.

<sup>76</sup>Smith, *The Treaty of Washington*, p. xiii.

## THE EXCAVATION OF FORT STE. MARIE

AFTER three hundred years of oblivion and neglect, Ontario's oldest building is being uncovered, and plans are being made for its reconstruction. The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, in co-operation with the Jesuit Fathers of Upper Canada, began the excavation of Fort Ste. Marie in June of this year, and continued the work until the end of September.

Fort Ste. Marie was begun in 1639 by Father Jean de Brébeuf, who intended it to be a central residence and place of retreat for all the missionaries then working among the Huron Indians. Originally, there were a residence, a church, a hospice, and perhaps some other, smaller buildings; in time, the place was fortified with four bastions and encircling walls of stone, or palisades. When the Iroquois swept down upon the Hurons and destroyed them, the purpose for which Ste. Marie had been built disappeared, and it was burned and abandoned by the Fathers who survived the raids, in June, 1649.

As a monument of historic interest, Ste. Marie has few rivals in Canada. Besides being a very early outpost of French power and influence, an advance guard of French culture as it were, it ranks as the third French settlement to be founded on the continent. Port Royal on Annapolis Bay is older by thirty-three years; Quebec by thirty. Maisonneuve did not establish Montreal until 1641, or two years after Ste. Marie was first occupied. Jamestown, the first English-speaking settlement in North America, is but thirty-one years older, whereas Toronto is 155 years farther down the stream of time. Unfortunately, little in the way of documentary material upon Ste. Marie exists. The Jesuit *Relations* are, of course, our main source of information, and concerning the social and religious activities which transpired there, they supply us with a wealth of detail; yet not a plan nor a clear description of the settlement itself is known to exist. Hence the necessity for a thorough and painstaking study of the site if an accurate reconstruction is to be made.

In selecting a site for their residence, the Fathers chose a spot on the east bank of the River Wye, as it is called today, about a mile from where it empties into an arm of Georgian Bay.<sup>1</sup> On either side of the river, the land is almost flat; and to the east there

<sup>1</sup>Félix Martin, MS, 63 ff. Given in A. E. Jones, *Old Huronia* (Fifth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, by Alexander Fraser, Toronto, King's Printer, 1909), 11.

are open meadows. Southward a short distance the Wye River loses itself in Mud Lake, to re-appear again about four miles farther up. The surrounding land is so low that even now much of it is marsh; in fact, some fifteen hundred acres are at present used as a duck preserve. In the seventeenth century, when the water table was undoubtedly ten or twelve feet higher than at present, the marsh must have been even more extensive, perhaps coming within a few rods of the habitation itself. The field between the residence and the river is the highest piece of ground and it was probably the spot used as a garden by the priests. To the north is a large hill, upon which stands the Martyrs' Shrine, a modern church built in memory of the Jesuit priests who laboured and were killed in Huronia. It is difficult now to understand why Brébeuf and his band did not select this hill for their residence, in view of the lowness of the surrounding ground. The *Relations* inform us, however, that one reason for their choice was to be "remote from the vicinity of villages."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless on the banks of the Wye, Ste. Marie was built, low-lying as the ground was. In many ways, it was a good site; it was easy of access by water; one could navigate the river and lake for at least ten miles inland at that time, thus affording an easy means of getting about in difficult country; and the open fields or marsh to the east made the task of guarding much easier. Moreover, the river on the west side, it was felt, gave an added measure of protection from attack.<sup>3</sup>

Today a railroad runs between the ruins of the fort and the hill where the modern church stands and a paved highway lies between the church and the railroad. The surrounding land has long been utilized by farmers, probably ever since the settlement of the district about 1830. The marsh, of course, is much the same as always, except that the water was so reduced that sportsmen put in a dam to conserve it somewhat. The field to the east has been cultivated, although it is now in pasture. The little field between the fort and the river has been ploughed many times, and used as a garden as recently as three or four years ago. Within thirty feet of one corner of the ruins stands a modern stucco

<sup>2</sup>R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791, the Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes* (Cleveland, 1896-1901, 73 vols.), XIX, *Relation for 1640*, 137. We know now, however, that an Indian village was once situated on top of the nearby hill, as remains clearly show.

<sup>3</sup>Ste. Marie was probably built very much on the Paraguayan model. For these parallels see Père Camille de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après beaucoup de documents inédits* (Paris, Letouzey, 1895-6, 3 vols.), I, 386 ff.

house, and elsewhere in close proximity to the very fort itself stand sheds and outbuildings put up in the last half-century. But for all this modern activity nearby, the ancient fortifications have not been seriously disturbed except by time and weather.

It is doubtful if the area actually used by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century was more than, or even as much as, five acres. The field between the fort and the river was almost certainly a garden. The residence, with its encircling walls and bastions of stone covered a mere 200×90 feet, while to the south of the enclosure stood the compound for the accommodation of visiting Indians. We are told that this compound extended "in a vast half-moon" from the corner of the south-east bastion to the river's bank.<sup>4</sup> There is a high spit of land running south from where the compound stood out into the marsh; it may have been cultivable three hundred years ago. It is inconceivable that with a higher water table the field to the east could have been of any use at all for gardening. The same is true of the land to the north. The essential parts of the establishment, then, were the fort, the garden to the west of it, the compound to the south of it, and probably, the now open field to the south of the compound.

The area now regarded as the fort proper is outlined at each corner by a square bastion of stone, with connecting walls or "curtains" of stone along the north and east sides. The south and west sides are thought to have been protected by palisaded walls. It was within this enclosure that the buildings used by the priests stood, namely, the residence, the chapel, and the hospice. Somewhere nearby there was a cemetery.<sup>5</sup> Here was, in other words, the very heart of the missionary enterprise of the Jesuit Order in Huronia. From here they directed the implanting of European culture in this new world; the traits of that culture which they stressed as being the most important were such activities as farming, the raising of pigs, cows, and poultry; perhaps pottery-making on European lines; certainly practical metal-working, masonry, and carpentry.<sup>6</sup> Ste. Marie thus became the first hospital for the care of the sick in Ontario; the first institution which we might call a hotel, for the convenience of wayfarers; it was the

<sup>4</sup>Jones, *Old Huronia*, 11, following Father Martin. For description of the site see the *Relation for 1640*, XIX, 133-7.

<sup>5</sup>Thwaites, *Relation for 1642-4*, XXVI, 201.

<sup>6</sup>Thwaites, *Relation for 1640*, XXXIII, 255; *Relation for 1646*, XXIX, 221-3; *Relation for 1646*, XXX, 153; *Relation for 1647-8*, XXXII, 69. See also R. M. Saunders, "The First Introduction of European Plants and Animals into Canada" (*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVI, 401).

first masonry structure, and had the first forge for the making of metal tools, so essential to our civilization.

Brébeuf meant Ste. Marie to be essentially a place of retreat for his fellow priests. "It had indeed been one of our thoughts while building a house apart, remote from the vicinity of the villages, that it would serve, among other things, for the retreat and meditations of our evangelistic labourers who after their combats would find this solitude full of delights . . .," remarked the founder in the *Relation* for 1640.<sup>7</sup> Probably only in the fullness of time, after one objective and then another was realized, did they embark upon the more actively social enterprises mentioned above. At any rate, Ste. Marie was never static. For those of us who were working on the site, this fact is of great importance. There is need of constant vigilance to see not only where buildings were erected, but if possible, their order of erection. As the place became more prosperous, new and better buildings were certainly put up. Even the *Relations* give a hint of this. At first the chapel seems to have been merely a room in a bark cabin, as suggested in the *Relation* for 1641-2;<sup>8</sup> by 1644 a church, as distinct from a chapel, had been built.<sup>9</sup> Again, the first residence seems to have been close to the river, while a later one was built inside where the fortifications now stand. Similar histories may attach to other structures. The forge probably did not come into being until 1646 when the blacksmith, Gauber, arrived. The encircling walls of stone were almost certainly built near the end of the period of occupation. This state of flux is to be expected, for not only would the missionaries come to see their needs in new lights, but the facilities for meeting those needs became progressively better as time went on. At first, the priests laboured to establish themselves, and to "erect some abode reasonably suitable" to their functions, but that was "done with pains that it would be difficult to explain—having no help or assistance from the country, and being withal in an almost universal dearth of workmen and tools."<sup>10</sup> By 1647 these difficulties had disappeared.

The passage of time, however, brought new perils. Years earlier Champlain had incurred for the French on this continent, and for all who chose to identify themselves with the French, the undying hatred of the Iroquois. Every school-boy knows the

<sup>7</sup>Thwaites, *Relation for 1640*, XIX, 137.

<sup>8</sup>Thwaites, *Relation for 1641-2*, XXI, 123.

<sup>9</sup>Thwaites, *Relation for 1642-4*, XXVI, 201.

<sup>10</sup>Thwaites, *Relation for 1640*, XIX, 135.

story. For the Jesuit missions it spelled disaster. Scarcely were the main buildings of Ste. Marie completed, when the peril became quite apparent. As yet, it would seem, there were no fortifications, or perhaps only wooden ones. In 1646 a stone-mason by the name of Pierre Tourments was brought out.<sup>11</sup> Presumably, the greater part of the stone work such as the bastions and the curtains was done after his arrival, when the Iroquois became more and more menacing, and the Jesuits realized that the day was near at hand when they would have to stand their ground. The final stand never eventuated for Ste. Marie, however. Brébeuf and Lalemant were murdered at St. Ignace, Daniel at St. Joseph. Practically every Huron village was destroyed by the Iroquois in 1648-9, but Ste. Marie was never attacked. Nevertheless, with the destruction of the Huron nation, the work of the Jesuits necessarily ceased there, and Ste. Marie could no longer be of any use. Consequently, the priests burned it and abandoned it in 1649. The surviving Hurons, numbering a bare three hundred families, removed to Christian Island, in Georgian Bay, whither the priests accompanied them, but hardships and starvation compelled all of them to seek a more congenial abode elsewhere. Most of them went to Lorette in Quebec. Thus, tragically, did the experiment of establishing a Huron commonwealth in Canada come to its end in 1649.

Wandering bands of Algonquin-speaking Indians, like the Nipissings, seem to have visited the site of Ste. Marie for a number of years after its burning, because fishing in the Wye River and Mud Lake was exceptionally good. We do not know how long these tribes continued to come, nor how long their visits lasted.

When the northern part of Simcoe County was opened to settlement a trifle over one hundred years ago, much of the old fort was still standing. In 1845 the Rev. George Hallen visited the site and made a sketch of it, the first so far as the present writer is aware. A decade later, Father Félix Martin explored the remains and spent some time "in rectifying measurements . . .,"<sup>12</sup> and learned at the same time that "Mr. Boucher of Penetanguishene had in 1848 found within bastion A (N.W.) interesting and very significant relics." Father Martin's notes are still in manuscript, but Father Jones drew freely upon them in his *Old Huronia*. This early and, for that time, painstaking archaeologist made

<sup>11</sup>Les Abbés Lauerdière et Casgrain, *Journal des Jésuites*, (ed. 2, 1892), 66. Brother Gauber, the blacksmith, came the same year.

<sup>12</sup>Martin, MS, 88, given in Jones, *Old Huronia*, 8.



random test pits over the surface of the fortified enclosure, as well as detailed observations on what was then visible on the surface. Since then, there has not been any systematic exploration of the site, but certainly much superficial digging has been done from time to time by school-children and other unauthorized persons. The inevitable result is that a great deal has been removed from the site in the way of small artifacts, even if no great damage has been done to the major structures.

That part of the site which comprised the compound for the Indians has suffered severely in the last half-century, in that it was levelled and a house and outbuildings erected on it. No such fate overtook the portion which was originally enclosed by the stone walls and the palisades. Perhaps the very presence of so much stone has been its salvation. Father Martin noted that the bastion walls were standing to a height of from two to four feet above ground in his day; when work began in 1941, the walls themselves were visible only in places, rising out of mounds of fallen stone and rubble, but these mounds were from two to four feet above the general ground level. The curtains, however, seem to have suffered, for if they were of any appreciable height at all, then some of the stone with which they were made must have been carried away; there is not enough fallen stone lying around their bases to rebuild them to any great height. It has been said that much stone was removed in recent times for construction purposes nearby, such as building the dam across the Wye, and for roadbeds. Others deny this. Probably the truth lies somewhere between these extremes.<sup>13</sup> The location of the interior buildings is at present entirely unknown, since they were of wood and were burned, but an examination of the soil should reveal them, provided it has not already been too much disturbed.

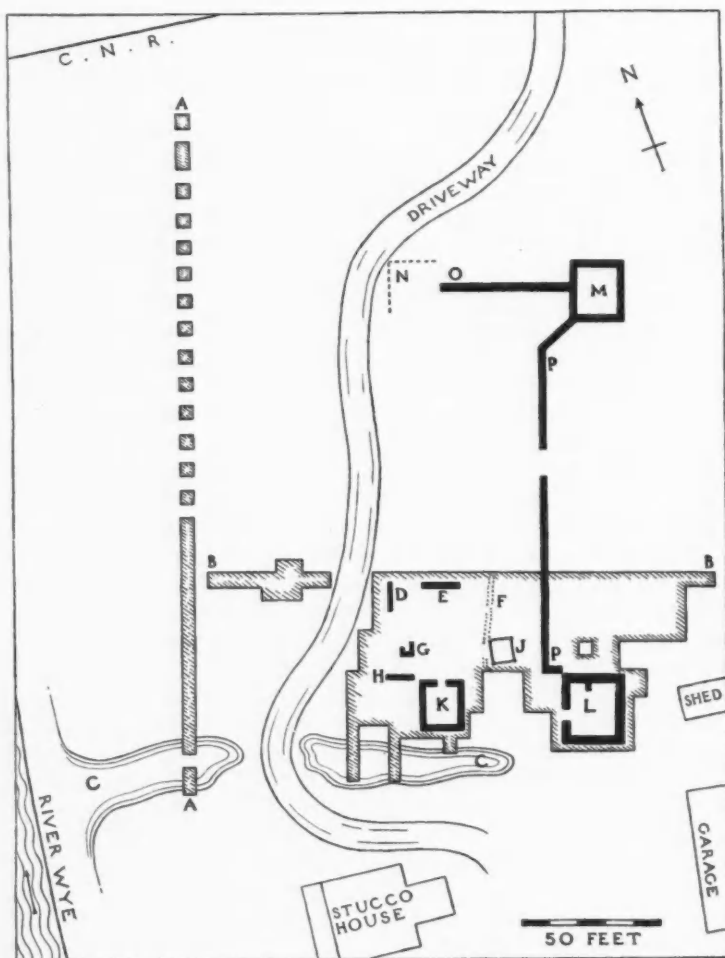
The history of the site subsequent to the sporadic visitations of the Algonquins is imperfectly known, until of course, recent times. Father E. G. Bartlett, Dean of Regiopolis College, has investigated the records in the County Registry Office, in so far as they pertain to Ste. Marie, and it was in conversation with him that the present writer learned the following interesting details. As described in modern surveys, the site straddles the line dividing the east and west halves of Lot 3, Concession 16, in the township of Tay, with the greater part in the west half. About the middle of the last century, this property came into the hands of the Jesuit

<sup>13</sup>About 330 cubic yards of stone have been picked up from near the bastion walls to date.

Order, but evidence that it was not the site of Ste. Marie was accepted, and the place was sold for a few hundred dollars. A later owner, realizing the significance of the ruins, believed that he was reserving the two acres on which they stood, when he was obliged to sell the rest of the lot; it chanced, however, that the specification was not accurate, and the site passed out of his hands. Early in the twentieth century, the Jesuit Fathers of Upper Canada determined to recover the site; they could not immediately acquire title to the ruins, since they were in the possession of a sportsman who did not wish to break up his holdings. This owner, together with a friend of his, erected a stone monument on the site to commemorate the deaths of Brébeuf and Lalemant, which still stands. The Jesuits, however, did succeed in buying the hill to the north, and built the modern Shrine on it in 1926. For many years negotiations went on with a view to obtaining possession of the site; it was only in 1939 that they were brought to a successful conclusion and the property once more passed into the hands of the Order which had made it famous.

The Jesuit Order was desirous of restoring the ancient settlement to its original condition, and invited the co-operation of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology in the undertaking. As a result, it was agreed that the Museum should supply technical assistance and what equipment it possessed, and that the Order should furnish the Museum staff with board, lodging, and any further equipment that might prove necessary, and supply the labourers. The arrangement seemed advantageous to both parties. The Order would obtain the data necessary to reconstruction, such as measurements and ground plans, and all specimens recovered, while the Museum would obtain accurate information on early French trade goods, on precisely dated Huron and Algonquin archaeological material, and possibly osteological material as well. Over and above all this, and what is probably of greater moment to the people of Canada as a whole, one of their most significant national monuments would be saved from further erosion and vandalism. It is encouraging to know that interest has already been awakened in the public, to such an extent that the people of the region once inhabited by the Huron Indians have formed an association, called the Huronia Historic Sites Association, whose purpose is to promote and assist in the excavation and restoration of all important historic sites in Huronia.

Work on the site began at the end of June, and continued until the end of September, with a Museum staff of four, and six local



KEY TO PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS AT FORT STE. MARIE

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|---|--|
| A. First exploratory trench.            | H. Rough stone wall.                       |
| B. Second exploratory trench.           | J. Wooden structure, probably root cellar. |
| C. Ditch, or so-called moat.            | K. South-west bastion.                     |
| D. Rough wall of stone.                 | L. South-east bastion.                     |
| E. Masonry wall, probably a foundation. | M. North-east bastion.                     |
| F. Double row of small stake moulds.    | N. North-west bastion.                     |
| G. Masonry structure.                   | O. North curtain.                          |
|   | P. East curtain.                           |

labourers. Provision was made for most phases of archaeological work, such as photography, as well as the more prosaic excavation. In view of the historical importance of the site, it was deemed wise to have it professionally surveyed, and this the Ontario Department of Highways, under the direction of the Honourable T. B. McQuesten, agreed to do. Three surveyors laid out a grid system, so that the entire area was mapped in five-foot squares, with elevations taken every ten feet. This survey was then tied in with existing highway and other provincial surveys, so that the exact position of every ten-foot stake is known with reference to established points, and its absolute height above sea-level is also known. By measuring from the appropriate stake, the position of any object excavated from a given square can consequently be expressed both with reference to the existing surveys and to absolute elevation.

By and large, the methods current in present-day American archaeology were applied at Ste. Marie, with such adaptations as local conditions and special objectives required. A long exploratory trench was dug from north to south in the field between the fortifications and the river to determine the nature of the soil and in what manner it had been disturbed, and to give a control over the work. A second trench at right angles to the first was dug so as to cut right across the site from west to east, and in this one material became progressively more abundant as each succeeding five-foot square was excavated. This first east-west trench crossed the fortifications about one-third the distance from their southern end. When this trench was completed, the one five feet to the south of it was done, so that work was carried on by working alternate trenches first, and taking down the intervening ones later. After the trenches, the next smallest unit of excavation was the five-foot square. Each square was excavated by removing three-inch levels at a time, until a depth was reached at which no evidence of disturbance was to be found. Most squares were taken down to a depth of about seven or eight levels, i.e. about 21-24 inches, but a few required to be excavated to the twenty-fifth level. Archaeological material as it came out was recorded by squares and level, catalogued, and packed for storage. At the close of the season, about one-third of the area of the fort had been excavated, or practically all of the southern end.

Special problems which the excavators had to solve included the question of how much soil had accumulated during the past three hundred years; where the soil had recently been disturbed;

where the perishable structures were erected; how deep was the moat; how high the water in the river must have been to make the moat serviceable; how high were the encircling and the bastion walls; were there any palisaded walls; and so forth. A watch had also to be kept for occupation both previous and subsequent to that of the Jesuit period. Not all of these problems have yet been solved, for most of them will have to await completion of the excavation, but with each square dug, and each trench finished, the solution becomes clearer.

The exploratory trench in the open plot revealed the presence of numerous camp fires, undoubtedly Indian, and most likely Algonquin in origin. It is possible that they will prove on further study to have been made by Indians who came to fish, after the burning of Ste. Marie. The other exploratory trench, running east and west across the fortifications proper, brought forth many interesting features. First to be encountered was an Indian hearth, then a mass of rubble and lime which suggested that here was the place where the Jesuits prepared their mortar. The north-south depression, which has long been called a moat, without much justification, showed no signs of water-deposited soil, but its rounded sides and bottom consisted of a band of hard, yellow material suggestive of burnt clay or brick. A few feet east of this, the excavators met with a short piece of masonry wall, completely buried beneath the surface. It turned out to be the best piece of masonry discovered during the season, with well-dressed blocks of limestone laid in courses with mortar. Just to the north of it, large areas of charred wood, perhaps the remains of the burnt floor or ceiling of a building, came to light, and on top of this a deposit of seven or eight inches of burnt clay similar to that in the ditch. The masonry seemed entirely isolated, but it may prove in the next season's work to have been the southern foundation of a house or church. Still farther east in the same trench, beneath the depression which runs north and south inside the east wall, at a very considerable depth, small round post-moulds in two parallel rows revealed themselves. Their purpose is still quite unknown, but they extended south for some distance, as later excavation showed. As the same trench was pushed east again, the foundations of the east curtain were uncovered; they were found to have been set directly upon the 1640 ground level. Large stones were set close together on the outside, the inside consisting of much smaller boulders. Running beneath the small boulders of the interior facing were the remains of logs and perhaps

of planks, which suggests that the inside face was supported by wooden scaffolding.

Upon the completion of this last exploratory trench, excavation was extended southward. Work was carried forward in alternate trenches, so as to leave clean trench walls every five or ten feet, upon which accurate level readings could be taken to determine the ancient occupation level. It was found that about eight inches of soil had accumulated since the burning of the fort in 1649, but of course this varies from spot to spot.

A trench driven across the so-called moat, a depression which runs close to the southern bastions, showed that the maximum width of these features was about 10 feet, with basins at intervals some 15 feet wide; and running up the centre is a small channel only 3 feet wide. At a point near the south-west bastion, the floor of this channel was 6.63 feet above the present lake level, so that it would require a rise of at least 8 feet to flood the supposed moat to a depth of 1.5 feet. This depth of water would of course be of no use either as a protection to the fortress nor as a water-course. The survey shows, moreover, that a rise of 4 feet in the present lake level would flood the fields to the east of the settlement and make the whole region correspondingly damp and unpleasant.

Of the many masonry structures uncovered this summer, the foundation wall mentioned above was the best. Almost as good was the foundation used in a unique structure, originally square and having three sides of masonry. It was situated just a little to the north and west of the south-west bastion, in the angle formed by two fragments of wall. Nothing was found in this remains, but in the square immediately east of it was a deep deposit of charcoal, and several metal tools. It has been suggested that here was the forge at which Brother Gauber laboured in 1646-7. However that may be, great quantities of metal scrap are found over the nearby area, particularly in a square some ten feet to the west, indicating that there may have been a lathe there.

The two fragments of stone wall referred to above were probably part of a curtain enclosing the west side. The existence of such a wall has never been suspected hitherto, the belief being that it was protected there by a wooden palisade. The structures, however, are very fragmentary, perhaps due to the work of previous diggers, and further excavation will be needed before their exact function can be determined.

The two bastions excavated so far are  $15 \times 18$  feet and  $22 \times 26$  feet respectively, the larger being the south-east. They are built of limestone and granite boulders, some of them cut. The first could be obtained no nearer than at Flat Point, about three miles distant overland, or five by water. The granite could have been got quite easily from the hill to the north of the site. Only occasionally are the stones laid in courses, but the mortar which was used is still visible. There is a good footing to all of these walls, consisting of small stones, and projecting out four inches beyond them inside and out. The walls themselves are about two feet thick, and very well built. The original frame of the door in one bastion was still partly preserved, and on the threshold were a great many fish bones, perhaps where some Indian, wandering over the spot after its burning, sat down to eat his dinner.

Beyond doubt the most interesting feature discovered was the remains of a wooden structure just inside the south-east corner of the enclosure, north of a line joining the north sides of the bastion. Three trees were growing upon it, and its presence was entirely unsuspected. The most extreme care was needed to preserve it long enough for study and recording. The structure was built so as to extend below ground level. It was approximately square, with a diameter of nine feet five inches. Along the sides were large cedar logs, the upper surface of which was hollowed out to a U-shape. Into this U-shaped groove, posts, and perhaps in a few cases, planks had been driven. The fourth, or south side, lacked the stakes, although the log was grooved like the rest. On the earthen floor of this cell was a fairly deep deposit of refuse which may prove to have been manure, full of numerous small seeds; while near the posts were vast quantities of squash or pumpkin seeds. One might be led to think this structure was a root cellar, but the presence of the leg bones of a rooster and two fragmentary glass bottles suggest other possible uses. Whatever purpose it may have served, it is a most interesting structural feature in itself. Log and stake buildings are not known to have been built on this continent, so far as the writer is aware, and the finding of this may contribute something to the history of architecture in North America.

The thousands of specimens recovered have been brought to Toronto for examination and study, in the hope that types of trade goods may be established, and so forth. From the bone remains it should be possible to determine, amongst other things, the kind of domestic animal brought out by the Jesuits, and the



type of dietary upon which the Algonquin occupants of later times had to live. Thus it is to be hoped that, in addition to the restoring of a national monument, the excavation of Ste. Marie will add something to our scientific knowledge of Indian culture in Canada, and to the history of the first period of settlement in Ontario.

K. E. KIDD

The Royal Ontario Museum  
of Archaeology.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN PRESS

The International Committee of Historical Sciences, which was organized at Geneva in 1926, has attempted to encourage investigation of numerous subjects having a bearing on the history of international relations, one of them being the history of the Press. At the request of the International Committee and of the Canadian Historical Association, the following bibliography was prepared by Miss A. J. E. Lunn of McGill University under the general supervision of the National Committee for Canada: Professor E. R. Adair, McGill University, chairman; Professor J. Bartlett Brebner, Columbia University; Dr. G. Lanctot, Public Archives of Canada, secretary. In view of the suspension of the publishing activities of the International Committee owing to the war, the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has undertaken to print Miss Lunn's bibliography.

Notes on the work of the International Committee and on the relation of Canada to it were printed in the REVIEW in June, 1936, p. 222, and December, 1938, p. 387. [Editor's Note]

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- MULLALLY, E. J. *The Hon. Edward Whelan [1824-67]* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1938-39, 67-83). "The story of an Irish emigrant who left his mark—editor, member of Parliament, and a Father of Confederation from Prince Edward Island" (C.H.R., XXI, June, 1940, 226).
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- FAUTEUX, ÉGIDIUS. *Fleury Mesplet: Une étude sur les commencements de l'imprimerie dans la ville de Montréal* (Bibliographical Society of America papers, XXVIII, 1934, 164-93). "A biography of the first Canadian printer, and a descriptive bibliography of the books published by him in London, Philadelphia, and Montreal, from 1773 to 1794" (C. H. R., XVI, June, 1935, 243).
- *Jacques-Clement Herse* (B. R. H., XXXV, avril, 1929, 219-22).
- Brief biography of a printer who accompanied Fleury Mesplet to Canada.
- *Jocelyn Waller* (B. R. H., XXVI, oct., 1920, 307-10). "An

- account of an English journalist of Montreal who, between 1820 and 1830, took the side of the French *patriotes*. The greater part of the paper is taken up with a reprint of a rare hand-bill about Waller, circulated after his death, and probably written by A. H. Morin" (C. H. R., II, March, 1921, 93).
- FAUTEUX, NOËL. *La presse du Bas-Canada et la rébellion de 1837-1838* (La revue populaire, XXX, oct., 1937, 7, 68-70). "An historical account of the reformist press in Lower Canada at the time of the rebellion" (C. H. R., XIX, March, 1938, 100).
- GAUVREAU, JOSEPH. *Oliver Asselin, précurseur d'Action française: Le plus grand de nos journalistes, 1875-1937*. Montréal. 1937. Pp. 47.
- GÉRIN, ELZÉAR. *La presse canadienne: A Gazette de Québec*. (Bibliothèque du Canadien.) Québec: Duquet. 1864. Pp. 65.
- GÉRIN, LÉON. *L'histoire véritable de deux revues québécoises* (Canada français, XIII, sept., 1925, 13-27). Refers to the rival periodicals, *Les soirées canadiennes* (1861-5) and *Le foyer canadien* (1863-6).
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- Honour to a journalist* (Canadian illustrated news, V, April 6, 1872, 214). "A tribute to Douglas Brymer, a Montreal journalist, on his removal to Ottawa" (Boyer, *A bibliography of English journalism*, 7).
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- MCGIBBON, R. D. *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*. Montreal: Dawson Bros. 1884. Pp. 19. An address delivered before the St. Patrick's Society of Sherbrooke, P.Q., March 17th, 1884.
- MCLACHLAN, R. W. *The first Mohawk primer*. Montreal. 1908. Pp. 13. "A brief history of early books printed in the Iroquois language, with special emphasis on the primers printed by Mesplet for Mohawk children" (Wilmot, *Pioneer presses of Canada*, 2).
- *Fleury Mesplet, the first printer at Montreal* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XII, sec. 2, May, 1906, 197-309).
- *Some unpublished documents relating to Fleury Mesplet* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XIV, sec. 2, May, 1920, 85-95).
- McMURTRIE, D. C. *The first printing in the province of Quebec*. Chicago: Ludlow Typograph Co. 1928. Pp. 12. A pamphlet describing and reproducing two *mandements* of Bishop Pontbriand said to have been printed in 1759 in Canada.
- *A memorial printed by Fleury Mesplet*. Chicago: Ludlow Typograph Co. 1929. Pp. 13. Sketch of the career of Fleury Mesplet and a reproduction of one of the rarest issues of his press.
- MARION, SÉRAPHIN. *La Gazette de Montréal de 1778: Berceau de la critique littéraire au Canada français* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, X, juillet-sept., 1940, 330-53).
- *Les lettres canadiennes d'autrefois*. Ottawa: Editions de l'Université; Hull, Qué.: Les Editions "L'Eclair." 1939-40. 2 vols.
- *Le prospectus de la Gazette littéraire* (Canada français, XXVII, sept., 1939, 8-19). "Events leading up to the first publication of this Montreal paper in 1778" (C.H.R., XX, Dec., 1939, 462).
- *Le voltairianisme de la Gazette littéraire de Montréal* (Revue de

- l'Université d'Ottawa, IX, oct.-déc., 1939, 393-408). "The *Gazette littéraire* was the organ of the Académie de Montréal, founded in 1778, and interested in the philosophy of Voltaire" (C.H.R., XX, Dec., 1939, 462).
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Un "Digest" canadien d'autrefois* (B.R.H., XLIV, déc., 1938, 353-4). Refers to *L'Echo de la France*, founded by Louis Ricard and published in Montreal, 1865-1869. It contained articles from French journals in abridged form.
- *Le journaliste-avocat Rambeau* (B.R.H., XLVI, mai, 1940, 156-8). "Describes the adventures in journalism of Alfred-Xavier Rambeau (1810-56) who at various times was connected with *Echo du pays* of Saint-Charles and *Ami du peuple* and *La Patrie* of Montreal" (C.H.R., XXI, Sept., 1940, 359).
- *Leblanc de Marconnay* (B. R. H., XXVI, juin, 1920, 177-9). Biographical details about a French journalist who lived in Canada between 1834 and 1845 and edited the journals *Minerve*, *Populaire*, and *Ami du peuple*.
- MAURAU, OLIVIER. *La courte vie des Mélanges religieux* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XXXI, sec. 1, May, 1937, 45-63).
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- Montreal *La Presse*. Anniversary edition, Oct. 13, 1934. Pp. 72. A special edition issued to commemorate the paper's fiftieth anniversary and including a history of the newspaper.
- The Montreal press* (Canadian illustrated news, XII, Aug. 7, 1875, 89). "A comment on the improvements shown by the newspapers of Montreal" (Boyer, *A bibliography of English journalism*, 10).
- Montreal *Star* (Canadian forum, XVIII, April, 1938, 438). "Accuses the Montreal *Star* of Fascist leanings, poor literary style, and bad journalistic ethics. Includes excerpts from the *Star*" (Boyer, *A bibliography of English journalism*, 10).
- Montreal *Star* Publishing Co. *A glimpse of Montreal and a souvenir of Canada's greatest newspapers*. Montreal. 1910. Pp. 32. Refers to the Montreal daily *Star* and the weekly *Star*.
- MORIN, VICTOR. *Fleury Mesplets [sic]: Pionnier de l'imprimerie à Montréal*. Montreal: Rolland Paper Co. 1939. Pp. 30. Speech delivered at the annual dinner of the Maîtres Imprimeurs de Montréal, April 19, 1939.
- *Our printed treasures* (Canadian magazine, XXXVII, June, 1911, 114-19). "A popular account of early Canadian presses, especially of those in the province of Quebec" (Wilmot, *Pioneer presses of Canada*, 3).
- MURPHY, CHARLES (comp.). *1825—D'Arcy McGee—1925: A collection of speeches and addresses, together with a complete report of the centennial celebration of the birth of the Honourable Thomas D'Arcy McGee at Ottawa, April 13th, 1925*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. 1937. Pp. xvi, 366.
- Oldest newspapers* (Saturday night, LIII, Jan. 11, 1938, 3). "A short editorial on the Montreal *Gazette*, claiming for it the distinction of being the second oldest newspaper in the world" (Boyer, *A bibliography of English journalism*, 11.)
- PARIZEAU, GÉRARD. *Mon ami Étienne Parent* (L'action universitaire Montréal, II, fév., 1936, 50-1, 64). "An account of a French-Canadian journalist and patriot (1801-74)" (C. H. R., XVII, Sept., 1936, 359).
- PARTHENAIS, J. T. *Les origines du journalisme canadien-français*. M.A. thesis presented at McGill University, 1930. Typewritten MS. Pp. 195.
- PENNY, A. G. *The annexation movement, 1849-50* (C. H. R., V, Sept., 1924, 236-61). Includes details about the Montreal *Herald* and other annexationist newspapers.
- Quebec *Gazette*. Centenary edition, June 21, 1864.
- RADLER, RUTH. *American and British influences on Canadian news content as shown by a study of two Montreal newspapers*. M.A. thesis presented at McGill University, 1930. Typewritten MS. Pp. 109.
- READE, JOHN. *English literature and journalism in Quebec* (Canada: An encyclopedia of the country, V, 147-65).
- Record of the Montreal Star in 1913: Policy and principles of a great Canadian newspaper* (Canadian annual review, 1913, Toronto, 1914, special supplement, 67-70). The special supplement is bound in but paged separately.
- La revue canadienne*. Montreal. 1864-1922. Volumes 47-9, Sept., 1904 to Sept., 1905, include a department "Section de l'association des journalistes canadiens-français." Members contribute articles on various subjects connected with their profession. The association was founded in May, 1903.

- RIVARD, ADJUTOR. *De la liberté de la presse* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XVII, sec. 1, May, 1923, 33-104). "An essay on the law governing the freedom of the press as it prevails in the province of Quebec" (C.H.R., V, March, 1924, 95).
- ROUILLARD, EUGÈNE. *Les premiers almanachs canadiens*. Lévis: P. G. Roy. 1898. Pp. 80. The earliest Canadian almanacs were issued by newspaper presses.
- ROY, CAMILLE. *Etude sur l'histoire de la littérature canadienne, 1800-1820* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XI, sec. 1, May, 1905, 89-133). French Canadian literature at this time existed only in the form of periodicals of which the chief were *Le Canadien*, *Le Courrier de Québec*, *Le Vrai Canadien*, *Le Spectateur*, *L'Aurore* and *L'Abeille Canadienne* (See Review of historical publications relating to Canada, XI, 1906, 209).
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 See also in General section under Canadian Press Association, *A history of Canadian journalism*; Colquhoun, *Century of Canadian magazines*; *Freedom of the press*; McMurtrie, *The book*; Stillwell, *Incunabula and Americana*; Wroth, *North America*; also in Ontario section under Anderson, *We boast about our ancestors*.

## SASKATCHEWAN

See in General section under Canadian Press Association, *A history of Canadian journalism*; Macpherson, *Trio of early western journals*; *Story of the press*.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Queen's University at Kingston: The First Century of a Scottish-Canadian Foundation, 1841-1941.* By D. D. CALVIN. Kingston, Ont.: The Trustees of the University; Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1941. Pp. xiv, 321. (\$2.50)

THE foregoing title would lead one to expect to find the volume it designates a sincere endeavour to present the whole history of our own Canadian Queen's. A survey of the headings of the chapters and of supplementary material heightens the expectation: "The Background"; "'The Day of Small Things'"; "Grant's Quarter-Century"; "The Last Forty Years"; "Faculties"; "Stones and Books"; "Women at Queen's"; "Student-Life"; "'Yet Have we Well Begun.'" In his own way the author, indubitably a devoted alumnus of Queen's, makes clear his awareness of the difficulty of writing the history of any university.

Viewed broadly, university histories may be divided into three types: first, the type which stresses the evolution of the purely academic and administrative phases; second, the type which gives prominence to the human side of the institution's life and progress and is designed to fan into activity thereby the loyalty of alumni; third, the type which represents an endeavour to combine the features of the other two. The volume under review belongs to the third type, the most difficult of the three to write. As a history of this order it is, in the reviewer's opinion, good history. Obviously the author employs original basic documents of many categories and draws his own conclusions, and is not merely presenting a mosaic made up of fragments of previous fugitive publications. While his work is undisputedly a labour of love, he is to be commended for his success in harnessing the exuberant enthusiasm of an affectionate alumnus to the sober task of being a serious historian.

Mr. Calvin leaves no doubt in the reader's mind as to the genesis of the salient features of the Queen's of today, particularly her rugged independence, her vigorous enterprise in enlarging her services, her distinctive individuality. He begins his study soundly: "The story of a university, like a man's career, must be looked at in the light of history. . . . History, in its turn, has a geographic setting." He shows plainly how Queen's was a child of the conditions obtaining in Upper Canada a century ago. Poverty, sparseness of settlement, primitive manner of life, great distances and bad roads, the predominance of agriculture among the industries, and the intensity of the struggle between the non-conformist element, the Presbyterian in particular, and the ruling Anglican party—these are all shown to be prime factors in the making of Queen's. Her ruggedness is the offspring of struggle; likewise, her individuality and her spirit of family unity, traits later fixed and amplified by Grant and his men. Mr. Calvin has done Canadian educational history good service in removing certain uncomfortable doubts. During the early years of this century in which the endeavour, finally successful in 1912, was being made to separate Queen's from the church which had founded it, charges were made that the proposal was one suddenly conceived in order to remove serious financial disabilities; that, consequently, the leaders of the movement were little better than political opportunists. These charges were made openly within the Presbyterian Church and were entertained, at least tacitly, by many persons without. In refutation, Mr. Calvin points to a document of 1846 prepared by the Queen's Board of Trustees; this embodies (p. 59) "the plain statement that, if King's had been in operation earlier, Queen's would have had no Arts side, but

only Theology, because 'no separate Ecclesiastical Body in Canada is able adequately to support, or efficiently to conduct, a University', though 'each such body might support its own Theological Hall.' This statement speaks only of the situation in 1846, nevertheless it is prophetic of the ultimate separation of Queen's from the Presbyterian Church."

Mr. Calvin's history may be read by university administrators with great profit. He brings out in particularly high relief one point which every citizen should know: that the real measure of a university's strength is the strength of its men. The quality of his history is a worthy feature of a great university's celebration of a hundred years of service.

W. SHERWOOD FOX

The University of Western Ontario.

*King's College: A Chronicle, 1789-1939: Collections and Recollections.* By F. W. VROOM. Halifax, N.S.: The Imperial Publishing Company. 1941. Pp. xii, 160. (\$2.50)

*Some Great Men of Queen's: Grant, Watson, Dupuis, Cappon, Jordan, Shortt.* Edited by Principal R. C. WALLACE. Toronto, Halifax: The Ryerson Press. 1941. Pp. [vii], 133. (\$1.50)

*Daniel M. Gordon: His Life.* By WILHELMINA GORDON. With a foreword by W. E. McNEILL. Toronto, Halifax: The Ryerson Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 313; illustrations. (\$3.50)

*Warming Both Hands: The Autobiography of Henry Rushton Fairclough, including His Experiences under the American Red Cross in Switzerland and Montenegro.* With a foreword by RAY LYMAN WILBUR. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1941. Pp. xvi, 629. (\$3.75)

THESE four books all make their contribution to the history of higher education in Canada. Archdeacon Vroom's *King's College: A Chronicle* is an account of the history of the first institution of higher education founded in what is now the Dominion of Canada. (Laval, at Quebec, was founded long before King's College at Windsor, Nova Scotia, but did not become a university until 1852.) To compress within one hundred and fifty pages or so the story of a college which has had a continuous existence of one hundred and fifty years or more was a task that could be accomplished only in a sketchy manner; and one could wish that Archdeacon Vroom had given his subject a fuller treatment. But within the limits he has set himself he has written a most interesting and entertaining book. The echoes of ancient controversies and struggles chase themselves across his pages; and here and there a charming sense of humour breaks forth. One of his statements must be challenged. He announces, in italics, that an *incunabulum* in the King's College Library, printed in 1471, is "*beyond question the oldest printed book in Canada*" (p. 90); but a reference to the *Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Owned in America* (New York, 1919) would have revealed the existence in Canada of at least one *incunabulum* earlier than this.

The centenary of Queen's University at Kingston has brought forth, not only Mr. Calvin's admirable story of Queen's (reviewed on page 434) but also the little volume, edited by Principal R. C. Wallace, entitled *Some Great Men of Queen's*, and the life of Principal Daniel M. Gordon, by his daughter. There can be no doubt that Queen's University attracted to itself in the latter half of the nineteenth century a galaxy of teachers such as perhaps no other Canadian university



has ever had; and six of these, George M. Grant, John Watson, Nathan Dupuis, James Cappon, W. G. Jordan, and Adam Shortt, are dealt with in separate chapters which were originally presented in a lecture course. These are all excellent; but the present reviewer has found especially valuable Dr. McNeill's chapter on Cappon and Professor Mackintosh's chapter on Adam Shortt. Principal Gordon was perhaps not included in the lecture series because it was known that his daughter was publishing a biography of him; but he should certainly be included in any list of "the great men of Queen's," and it is fortunate that his daughter has given us a most life-like portrait of a Canadian university head whom one is tempted to describe as, perhaps, "the noblest Roman of them all."

Professor Fairclough's autobiography, now published posthumously, gives an interesting picture of life at the University of Toronto in the eighties of last century, when the author was first an undergraduate, then a fellow, and later a lecturer in University College. Written in a charming and urbane style, Professor Fairclough's pages are marked by great charity of judgment. Only on rare occasions is a critical note allowed to appear. One of these occasions, it is interesting to note, is when he refers to George Paxton Young, one of the mythical figures in the history of the University of Toronto. "Professor Young had the reputation of being a profound philosopher. He certainly looked the part. He had snowy hair, a heavy white beard, and a towering forehead. As he lectured, he would push his spectacles up to his brow, close his eyes, and pour forth a stream of wisdom in a sort of dramatic soliloquy, which deeply impressed most of his hearers, but which often excited my sense of the ridiculous. I suppose he was speaking above my power of comprehension; but I was never able to take Professor Young quite as seriously as most of my classmates."

Of others with whom he came into touch during his time at the University of Toronto, Professor Fairclough wrote in terms of affection and admiration. Sir Daniel Wilson, Principal Hutton, Professor Wrong, Professor Baker, Professor Mavor—these and many others appear in his narrative, all in a friendly light. It was not without reason that Professor Fairclough chose as the motto for his autobiography the lines of Walter Savage Landor:

I strove with none, for none was worth my strife:  
Nature I loved; and, next to Nature, Art;  
I warm'd both hands before the fire of Life;  
It sinks; and I am ready to depart.

W. S. WALLACE

The University of Toronto.

*Ton Histoire est une épopée. I. Nos Débuts sous le régime anglais.* Par l'Abbé

ARTHUR MAHEUX. Québec: Charrier et Dougal. 1941. Pp. vi, 213. (\$1.00)

This little volume by the archivist of the Seminary of Quebec and Professor of History in Laval University is interesting and important. The substance of it was presented in lectures last winter at Laval, and they stirred such a lively interest, not only in those who heard them but also in the outside public through reports in the press, that the lecturer was besieged with requests to publish his message for a wider audience. The fact that it produced this reaction enhances its value as a revelation of a new and healthy spirit in the heart of French Canada.

The Abbé Maheux strikes out boldly against the traditional tendency of his people, fed by their writers from Garneau onward, to seek to preserve their national

integrity by withdrawing within themselves, indulging in self-pity over their hard lot, and nursing their prejudices.

C'était faire de la tradition, du préjugé même, de l'imitation des autres, les maîtres de notre destinée. Lorsque le romantisme eut mis les beaux pleurs à la mode, notre peuple parut se transformer en un René languissant, triste, timide, impuissant, en un chœur endeuillé avec comme coryphée, notre Crémazie.

Ce mal est-il incurable? Certes non.

A nous d'utiliser l'Histoire, pour inspirer à la jeunesse la très positive notion d'égalité entre les deux groupes du Canada.

These are the closing words of the introduction, and in the rest of the book the author shows how to use history to this end.

In the first chapter, he wanders over most of Europe, sketching the sore trials through which nations of the Old World have passed; and then he challenges anyone to assert that the French on the St. Lawrence have experienced any such tribulations. Returning home, he plunges into the period from the British conquest to the departure of Murray in 1766, tearing to pieces the false and pathetic picture painted by Garneau. He examines the rights possessed by conquered people under the international law of that day, contrasting these rights with the terms of the capitulation to show how generous the conqueror was, and he explodes the precious French-Canadian myth that these terms were violated. By a masterly comparison of the nomination of Laval with that of Briand, he exposes as ignorant prejudice the bitterness with which most French-Canadian history manuals blame Britain for letting the people remain without a bishop for six years. But it is to Murray that he devotes most attention. Two chapters upon him fill half the pages of the book. Unfortunately the author is not very familiar with the detailed history of Canada during the years Murray spent in it, with the result that he frequently stumbles; but he makes out a strong case, which more knowledge would have strengthened rather than weakened, for the first British Governor of Canada as one of the best friends the French of Canada have ever had. Canada needs more men like the Abbé Maheux—English as well as French.

A. L. BURT

The University of Minnesota.

*Reflets d'Amérique.* Par EDOUARD MONTPETIT. Montréal: Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1941. Pp. 256. (\$1.00)

M. MONTPETIT's book is an interesting and clear-cut analysis of French-Canadian reaction to the threat of "Americanization" supposedly hanging over Quebec. Unlike many of his compatriots who have made a perfect bugaboo out of the American way of life, the author clearly identifies "Americanism" with modern progress in the larger sense. Throughout this study M. Montpetit points out the benefits to be derived by French Canadians from contact with American ideas and methods, always provided that proper care is exercised to adapt them to Quebec ways of thinking. He appears convinced that if the American formula of progress is bent to the uses of French genius it can be utilized as a means of preserving the essentially French character of Quebec civilization.

The greater part of the book is devoted to a lucid and painstaking assessment of the influence of American ideas on the Quebec educational system from the "école du rang" through the classical "collèges" to the university faculties and their specialized schools. M. Montpetit concludes that the elementary school,

especially in rural areas, and the "collèges" remain largely untouched by the breath of the American spirit, while in the field of higher education, especially in the university schools devoted to scientific education, American influences are largely on the increase.

It is encouraging that so distinguished an educator as M. Montpetit sees hope for the preservation of French-Canadian ways of thought within the framework of the North American way of life. His formula that one can continue to think and believe "à la française" within the walls of an American school is to be commended to his compatriots. On the other hand, English-speaking Canadians interested in national unity would do well to contemplate the author's suggestion that Canada's best hope of resisting absorption by her powerful southern neighbour lies in the development of a dual Anglo-French culture, a unified common Canadianism nourished by two conceptions of life, which while accepting and adapting the benefits of American progress would safeguard the national sovereignty of Canada.

ELIZABETH H. ARMSTRONG

New York.

*Histoire de la Province de Québec.* II. Le "Coup d'état." Charles de Boucherville, Luc Letellier de Saint-Just, Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière. III. Chapleau. IV. Les "Castors." Par ROBERT RUMILLY. Montréal: Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1941. Pp. 241; 211; 241. (\$1.00 the volume)

IN the second volume of his *Histoire de la Province de Québec*, entitled *Le "Coup d'état,"* M. Rumilly traces the history of the province from 1875 to 1879. The *coup d'état* was, of course, the celebrated dismissal of the Conservative Cabinet of Charles de Boucherville by Luc Letellier de Saint Just, the Lieutenant-Governor, in March, 1878. As Boucherville possessed an overwhelming majority in both houses of the local Parliament, contemporaries found it easy to ascribe Letellier's actions to personal pique, or party manoeuvring. In fact, the *coup d'état* provided a dual constitutional dilemma. Did a lieutenant-governor possess the power of dismissing his constituted advisors? Who possessed the power of dismissing a lieutenant-governor? The second part of the equation became real with the resounding Conservative victory in the Dominion general elections of September, 1878. From the Quebec wing of the party came emphatic demands for heads on trenchers; nor was Macdonald the man to stand between the offending Governor and the enraged *bleus*. A last moment complication was introduced by the scruples of Lord Lorne, the Governor-General, to dismiss Letellier. Taking his stand on the ambiguous phraseology of the British North America Act, Lorne induced Macdonald to refer the whole case to the Colonial Office. That authority sagely declined to enter into the merits of the dispute, but it directed the Governor-General to follow the recommendations of his Cabinet. In July, 1879, Letellier was relieved of his office, and deprived of its chief prop; the feeble Liberal administration of Sir Henri Joly fell, to be succeeded by a reconstructed Conservative government led by Adolphe Chapleau.

Few critics would quarrel with M. Rumilly's emphasis on the antecedents, rather than the incidents of the *coup d'état*. Undoubtedly it proceeded from the clash of temperaments among the principals: Letellier, the implacable *rouge*, old and soured by sickness; Boucherville, the ultramontane Premier, already at odds with half his following; Chapleau and Angers, the younger Conservative chieftains, leaders of what was graphically called "le raise hell parti." More fundamental

was the effect of the great depression of the seventies, which caught the province with an ambitious programme of railway construction half completed. Personally interested in these projects, the Conservative leaders, the Chapleau-Angers-Sénécal group in particular, determined to collect the promised subsidies from the various Quebec towns. It was this insistence, in face of the depression, that gave Letellier his chance to intervene, thus bringing about the fall of the Boucherville Cabinet. The author is correct, too, in freeing entirely the Dominion Liberals from any share in the coup. He could have made his case much stronger, however, by reference to the Mackenzie correspondence in the Dominion Archives.

It would have been well if M. Rumilly had stopped there, but he has included a mass of material, interesting in itself, yet only remotely connected with the subject of the book. Thus, we have the tangled story of clerical influence in the bye-elections in Charlevoix and Bellechasse, the long tale of Mgr Conroy's mission to placate the warring factions in the episcopate, and the endless vendetta waged over the control of the embryonic Université de Montréal. Confusion is the more confounded because of the chronological arrangement of the material. One can never be sure that the author has said the last word on any topic. Nor can one agree with his standards of value. Every event seems to be important, and all events appear to have about the same degree of importance.

Nevertheless, there are some unqualified excellences. The author has captured the spirit of the times he describes. The epic battles of *rouge* and *bleu* live again in campaign poetry and satire. The characterization of St. Hyacinthe, the Liberal stronghold, as a place where "Papineau est dieu et M. Dessaulles est son prophète," speaks volumes. Similarly, there is more than dry record caught in the picture of the Montreal militiamen singing,

We'll bury old Guibord  
In the consecrated ground

with the funeral refrain,

Guibord's coffin weighs exactly forty tons.

In the recovery of these details we are much in the debt of M. Rumilly.

In *Chapleau* and *Les "Castors,"* volumes III and IV, M. Rumilly covers the period of Conservative triumph and decline between 1880 and 1885. The triumph was preeminently Chapleau's, hence the appropriateness of the first title. Chapleau was the inheritor of the Cartier tradition of liberal Conservatism, perhaps also of the Cartier tactic, for he was the representative of the bustling Montreal big-business world. Behind him stood the ominous figures of "le boss Dansereau," the strategist, and of Sénécal, the paymaster of the party. As M. Rumilly makes abundantly clear, Chapleau had enemies within the ranks of his own party, upholders of the older country-rooted Toryism, ultra-Catholics, and those who spoke for the declining eastern sections of the province. Accordingly, his efforts to capitalize on the returning prosperity of the early eighties were qualified by internal struggles. In 1882, Chapleau entered the Dominion Cabinet, abandoning the Quebec leadership to his nominee, Mousseau. The author does not make clear, as an examination of the Chapleau correspondence among the Macdonald papers suggests, that this move was inspired by a desire to bring into operation in the provincial field the patronage of the Dominion government. This failure to appreciate the interaction of Canadian and Quebec conditions is, perhaps, the most serious shortcoming of volume III.

*Les "Castors"* has an especial interest. It takes its title from the pseudonym

"*castor*" over which the celebrated pamphlet "*La parti, le pays, et le grand homme*" appeared. An indictment of Chapleau, it proved a rallying point for the dissident Conservatives, and also a name; they became *les "castors."* Henceforth, the party was split, thus preparing the way for the meteoric rise of the Nationalists in 1886. Other forces tended to the same end: the interminable tussle for the control of the Montreal School of Medicine, and the alarming quarrel within the hierarchy. On these confused and puzzling topics, M. Rumilly writes with practised skill. Phases of them he has traversed before in his biography of Mgr Lafleche; here he very effectively weaves them into the general history of the province. He has made full use of those valuable, but occasionally difficult of access repositories, the diocesan and seminary archives. The spring of 1885 found Quebec in great perturbation. Mercier came to the opening of Parliament, "avec de la dynamite plein ses poches" (*L'Electeur*, le 5 mars 1885). And M. Rumilly adds, "*La dynamite explosa loin de Québec . . . mais avec assez de force pour ébranler tout le pays.*" It is an effective conclusion,—and a promising anticipation.

JOHN IRWIN COOPER

McGill University.

*Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1939-1940.* Par P.-G. ROY. Québec: Imprimeur de Sa Majesté le Roi. 1940. Pp. [viii], 486.

THIS is the twentieth report to be presented by M. Pierre-Georges Roy as archivist of the province of Quebec, and it is entirely in keeping with the high standard set in the earlier volumes. It makes three substantial additions to the body of materials that is now easily accessible in printed form to the student of the French period of Canadian history.

The first is the census of the parish of Quebec which was made in 1744 by its curé, M. l'Abbé Jacrau, as a means for the better conduct of parish affairs. Censi of 1666, 1667, 1681, and 1716 having already been made available in print, the publication of that of 1744 rounds out the series by giving information regarding the little colonial capital at the crucial moment when New France had completed its longest period of peaceful development and was being plunged into the wars which were to result in its transference to British rule. Street by street and household by household the document lists the inhabitants of the parish. In each case the age is given, sex is apparent from the names, the occupations of all heads of families and of some other adults are carefully listed, and exceptional cases of race or religion such as Indians, Negroes, and Huguenots are duly noted. For both historian and economist the document is one of unusual value.

One is inclined, however, to rank the second item of the report as the one which will be the most widely helpful to the student. This is a very complete survey of the documents relating to the history of the church in New France during the seventeenth century. It is from the pen of M. l'Abbé Ivanhoë Caron who, having given us in the reports from 1927-1928 to 1938-1939 his monumental inventory of the correspondence of the Bishops of Quebec from 1760 to 1840, now turns to this earlier but related field. Year by year from 1610 to 1699 M. l'Abbé has compiled the documents pertinent to the ecclesiastical history of the colony, has indicated where they may be found, and has given résumés of their contents which in many cases include illuminating quotations from the documents themselves. He has especially explored the documentary treasures of the archiepiscopal

palace at Quebec, but the whole survey is so comprehensive that it constitutes a magnificent *cadre* for research into the religious history of the period which it covers. Indeed the activities of the church were so varied, and they so interpenetrated the life of New France that this survey possesses value for the study of every aspect of its history. No doubt the gap in the learned abbé's labours between 1700 and 1759 will be filled in some future volume or volumes of the reports.

The third feature of the report for 1939-40 is a continuation of the correspondence between Governor Vaudreuil and the French court, the publication of which was begun last year and is to be completed in the report for 1940-1941. The current volume gives the correspondence from May 18, 1707 to November 14, 1708. As it was pointed out in the review of the report for last year, this series of documents will be highly valuable for the study of a period of the French régime which has been somewhat neglected by historical research.

The report for 1939-1940 is supplied with useful indexes of proper and of place names. It is a volume which adds materially to the already great indebtedness of students of Canadian history to M. Roy and his scholarly associates.

M. H. LONG

The University of Alberta.

*Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-1831.* Edited by R. HARVEY FLEMING. With an introduction by H. A. INNIS. (Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company series III.) Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1940. Pp. lxxviii, 480.

THE Hudson's Bay Record Society continues its good work of publishing a volume of records annually despite wars and rumours of war. Much credit goes to the faithful Miss Johnson, who sticks to her post in London. It is welcome news that she has survived bombs and fires and continues to ferret out material for us of a happier clime.

Much of the documentary material in this volume has long been accessible elsewhere. The virtue of the book lies in the printing of the available data in one volume, and with an introduction that explains their significance. The letters are mostly new material and correspondingly valuable.

The compass of the Company's programme from 1821 to 1831 was almost unbelievable. Sites of posts, men to run them, policies for trading, prices of trade goods and wages, sex morals of traders, education of traders' children, relations with the United States and Russia, quality of blankets, length of canoes, and many other topics were all within it. The one person who seemed able to keep all these details and many more in mind was the "little emperor," the diminutive Governor George Simpson. What he lacked in stature he made up in will power and shrewdness. He knew practically every man in the trade and kept a sort of key to the characters and abilities of the more important ones. Many of them would not have been flattered by his blunt description of their shortcomings. He travelled about from post to post and from coast to coast in an amazing fashion. Probably no one else has ever traversed the American continent in a canoe with such speed. He held, and rightly, that only by personal contact and observation could he cure the many evils inherent in such a large, complex, and unwieldy organization. That he put the Company on its feet and made it a success is tribute enough to his perspicacity and powers of organization. I doubt that George Simpson was ever

deeply loved by anyone, but he did bring order out of chaos and kept an intricate machine running more than passably well.

Mr. Innis has done an excellent job of extracting the significant parts of both council minutes and letters for discussion in his introduction. The letters printed at the back of the book are fascinating. One can only wish there had been room for the correspondence of ten years instead of one. The unrestraint of some of Simpson's personal letters reveals how much more of the personality of the man can be gleaned from his private than from his staid, official correspondence.

One of the chief values of this book to research students will be its convenient yearly lists of trading districts, posts, factors, traders, and *engagés*. By means of such lists one can follow with ease the career of a given man or the activities of a certain trading area throughout the entire decade. Future books—there are to be two more giving council minutes of the Northern Department and one for the Southern Department—will carry the story on to 1870. The four volumes will be *sine qua non* of the library of anyone professing to deal at all adequately with fur-trade history, with Indian missions, with Canadian-American relations, and, of course, with the career of George Simpson and the history of the Hudson's Bay Company.

GRACE LEE NUTE

Hamline University.

*A Sketch of the Early Settlement and Subsequent Progress of the Town of Peterborough, and of each Township in the County of Peterborough.* By THOMAS W. POOLE. Peterborough: *The Peterborough Review*. 1867. Reprinted by the Peterborough Printing Company, together with *Completion of Sketch of the Early Settlement of the County of Peterborough, 1867-1941*. 1941. Pp. viii, 220, 76.

THE town of Peterborough, like many other flourishing cities, both in the Old and in the New World, owes its existence to a situation whose water-power can be easily developed. The first settlers on agricultural lands must have access to a grist mill in order to be able to live on the grain which they grow. The first immigrants from England to the new district opened for settlers in what subsequently became the County of Peterborough arrived in 1818, and in the spring of 1819 an enterprising party from what in those days was known as "the front" came up the Otonabee River in search of a mill-site. The Otonabee, which flows through the town, is a swift river with many rapids in its course, and has played its part in the growth of Peterborough. However, it was not the Otonabee, but a small creek emptying into that river from higher ground which commended itself to the experienced eye of Alexander Scott as capable of providing economically all the power necessary for a small mill. Accordingly the dam was constructed and a combined lumber and grist mill erected within the next two years, and until 1825 Scott, the miller, and his assistants were the only inhabitants. Hence the original name of the town, Scott's Mills or Scott's Plains, which persisted until 1827. Meanwhile in 1825 the first large body of settlers arrived, and most of them were established on farm lands in the autumn of that year. They were from the south of Ireland, shipped to Canada at the cost of the British government, which was moved thereto by the urgency of the Upper Canada government as represented by the Honourable Peter Robinson. It was in recognition of his services and guidance that the town received the name of Peterborough. The original mill built by Scott was a small affair and



it soon became necessary to abandon it, and build on a larger scale. But it was Scott's judgment which determined the site of the future city.

*The History of Peterborough*, written in 1867 by Poole, a medical man and coroner for the county, was well worth reprinting. It is a very full and complete statistical compilation, giving the names of original settlers, county officials of all descriptions, noteworthy shopkeepers, and others conspicuous in the growth of the town. Not only Peterborough itself, but the surrounding townships are described and the names of their first inhabitants noted, together with much of their subsequent history. The present volume, issued under the auspices of the County Council, is an exact reprint of the first edition, including even the pages of advertisements at the end of the original volume. It is intended to commemorate the centenary of the establishment of the Colborne District, as well as the centenary of the original court-house building, and the opening of the new court-house. The history has been in a measure brought up to date by an appendix with chapters on county finance, agricultural development, railway building, educational changes, and other topics each written for the publication by some one specially qualified.

Unfortunately the printing has been done carelessly. Page 45, for instance, has been printed twice, in its own place and instead of page 25. A little further on we come upon pages 48 and 41 in the places that should be occupied by pages 28 and 29. Other pages similarly are missing and duplicates of later pages take their place. It is not a case of mistaken binding which might be limited to a few copies, but of actual printing, and probably the whole edition is thus disfigured.

H. H. LANGTON

Toronto.

*A History of Chicago*. Vol. II. *From Town to City, 1848-1871*. By BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE. New York, London: Alfred A. Knopf [Toronto: The Ryerson Press]. 1940. Pp. xvi, 548, xxxiv. (\$5.00)

MISS PIERCE'S *History of Chicago* is of interest to Canadians because it suggests the possibility of similar urban studies in the Canadian field. The parallel between Chicago and Toronto (each an inland centre struggling to emerge from control by a seaboard metropolis and gradually itself developing metropolitan characteristics) is sufficiently obvious to challenge attention.

Miss Pierce's second volume covers a critical period (1848-71) in the development of Chicago. During that time Chicago emerged from the position of small city to that of rapidly expanding metropolis. Miss Pierce describes lucidly, but with a wealth of material, the various phases of Chicago's development; the structure of society, the expansion of transportation facilities, of trade and of industry; the rise of the labour movement; the evolution of municipal government; religious activity, and the increase of churches. Miss Pierce has included two extremely valuable chapters on the tone of Chicago society: what Chicago read, what plays and operas it saw, how extensive were its "vices" and so forth.

The volume contains few direct references to Canada except in regard to the increase of trade with this country during the operation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. Yet the spectacle of this rapidly developing inland metropolis upon the Great Lakes must have been of great contemporary interest to Canada. It showed the extent of the prize which Canada had lost in failing to capture the middle-western American trade for the St. Lawrence route. On the other hand, the

development of Chicago and its hinterland might perhaps have been regarded as an earnest of a similar future process in the Canadian North-West.

Miss Pierce has chosen to arrange her material by topics rather than chronologically. It is difficult, by the topical method, to trace the steady, progressive development of the city throughout the period. Instead we are given, so to speak, a dozen separate histories of Chicago, each devoted to a particular phase of its development. After one has read them all it is difficult to see Chicago steadily and to see it whole.

D. C. MASTERS

United College, Winnipeg.

*From Desenzano to "The Pines": A Sketch of the History of the Ursulines of Ontario, with a Brief History of the Order Compiled from Various Sources.* By Mother M. ST. PAUL. With a foreword by the Right Rev. A. P. MAHONEY. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1941. Pp. xviii, 387. (\$4.00)

THIS book was written at the request of the Alumnae Association of "The Pines," as the author explains in a short preface, in answer to the question, "Who are the Ursulines?" Dealing with a phase of Canadian history practically untouched by English writers and telling a story—the foundation of the Chatham House of the Ursuline Order—hitherto untold, the book should appeal to an audience far wider than the preface would indicate. And deservedly so, for it is a careful, competent piece of work which has been some ten years in the making and which reflects great credit upon the nun of over eighty years who is its author.

The book is neatly woven together. The first third discusses the origin of the order and its growth throughout France and Italy. The second third is the story of Mother Le Bihan, her work in Canada, and of the foundation of "The Pines" at Chatham. The last eight chapters are concerned with the companions and successors of Mother Le Bihan and the expansion of the Ursulines in Canada and throughout the world. With the detailed history of the Canadian foundation thus set against the background of European origins, the reader is given a glimpse into the nature and *raison d'être* of the Ursuline Order as well as a true perspective of the place Canadian branches have in the larger scheme.

Much of the later chapters is necessarily condensed and here greater discrimination should have been exercised in the choice of material to be used. If the story of the Ursulines at Quebec had been given fuller treatment, or if more space had been devoted to changes in Ursuline organization and the entry of the order into new fields of educational activity, the book would have been of more general interest. Chapter xx, "A Cabinet of Cameos," appears to be mainly personal reminiscences and many will wish that it had been omitted or at least were rewritten.

The author's style could have been improved, as it is naïve and rather unctuous. Many readers will dislike the pious obituaries and occasional moralizings. Despite this handicap the book is interesting and accurate and should be useful as an introduction to a more profound study of the influence of the Ursulines upon Canadian educational and social development.

V. JENSEN

Toronto.

*Canadian Jewish Year Book, 1940-1941.* Edited by VLADIMIR GROSSMAN. Vol. II.  
[Montreal: 454, Lagauchetière Street, West.] Pp. 352. (\$2.50)

THIS series of Year Books is a private, not an official, publication and its defects are probably inherent in this fact. Such a publication would be more useful if it contained more factual material, fewer general articles, and bore the *imprimatur* of a representative Jewish organization which might thus be held responsible for the accuracy of the information. Again, some of the factual material is not conveniently assembled for what should be primarily a reference-book, not a book of bed-time stories, nor does it contain, *inter alia*, a list of the names and addresses of such rabbis, cantors, and presidents of Jewish congregations as have a peculiar responsibility *qua* Jews for the Jewish community. Despite the shortcomings, the book for the year "5701" contains many interesting articles on Canadian Jewish writers and artists, the relations of Jews and non-Jews in the clothing labour-unions, the problems of Jewish refugees in Canada, the decline in attendance of Jewish students in the Protestant school system of Montreal, etc., which have a decided contemporary significance.

Of historical rather than contemporary significance, are Madame Donalda's interesting memories of her operatic career, a chapter on "The First Jewish Settlers of Ottawa," some correspondence of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Peter Bercovitch, sketches of Zigmond Fineberg (founder of the Hebrew Free Loan Association in Montreal), and memoirs of Reuben Brainin, sometime editor of a Jewish journal in Montreal and President of one of the forerunners of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

C. E. SILCOX

Toronto.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

*Commonwealth dilemma* (Economist, CXLI (5114), Aug. 30, 1941, 257-8). Discusses the merits and drawbacks of the present system of collaboration between Great Britain and the Dominions.

COWIE, DONALD. *The Dominions at war: Active phase* (Army quarterly, April, 1941). *How the Dominions fight* (Empire review, no. 488, Sept., 1941, 113-16).

KNAPLUND, PAUL. *The British Empire, 1815-1939*. New York, London: Harper & Brothers. 1941. Pp. xx, 850. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

LANGIS, PIERRE-PAUL. *Le Canada, monarchie constitutionnelle en union personnelle avec les autres membres du commonwealth* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 27ème année (107), sept., 1941, 299-310).

MORRELL, W. P. *The second British Empire, 1783-1870* (History, XXV (100), March, 1941, 325-39). Reviews volume II of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*.

RANDERSON, H. R. *Maximum and equity in relation to Empire's war effort* (Economic record, XVI (31), Dec., 1940, 177-90). Suggests problems relating to the measurement and achievement of a maximum allied war effort, and of "equity of sacrifice" among the allies.

SCAMMELL, J. M. *Survival of the British Empire: 1792-1812, 1914-1940* (United States Naval Institute proceedings, Feb., 1941).

ZIMMERN, Sir ALFRED. *From the British Empire to the British Commonwealth*. (Longmans pamphlets on the British Commonwealth, no. 3.) London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1941. Pp. 52. (25c.)

### II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BROCKINGTON, LEONARD W. *Canada to the United States. Four international broadcasts*. Ottawa: Director of Public Information. Oct., 1941. Pp. 30.

*Canadian-American relations in defence: I. Military*. 1. *From the point of view of the United States*, by T. H. THOMAS. 2. *From the Canadian point of view*, by GRANT DEXTER (Conference on Canadian-American Affairs proceedings, 1941, ed. by R. G. Trotter and A. B. Corey, 24-66).

*Canadian-American relations in defence: II. Economic*. 1. *From the Canadian point of view* by W. C. CLARK. 2. *From the point of view of the United States* by CALVIN B. HOOVER (Conference on Canadian-American Affairs proceedings, 1941, ed. by R. G. Trotter and A. B. Corey, 67-103).

CATLIN, GEORGE. *One Anglo-American nation: The foundation of Anglo-Saxony as basis of world federation: A British response to Streil*. Introduction by the Rt. Hon. J. C. WEDGWOOD, with preface by ERNEST BARKER. London: Andrew Dakers Ltd. [Toronto: MacMillan Co. of Canada Ltd.]. 1941. Pp. 155. (\$1.50)

- HUMPHREY, JOHN. *Pan America in the world order* (Canadian forum, XXI (249), Oct., 1941, 199-202). Points out that there would be no incompatibility, either legal or political, in Canada belonging to both the Pan American Union and the British Commonwealth of Nations.
- The twenty-second chair: Is it for Canada?* (Inter-American quarterly, III (4), Oct., 1941, 5-13). Growing economic and political interests in Latin America pave the way for Canada assuming the seat assigned to her in the Pan American Union.
- Institutional and economic bases of the entente between British countries and the United States.* 1. *The tradition of freedom in the state* by C. H. MCLWAIN. 2. *An economic entente involving the United States, Canada, and Great Britain* by F. CYRIL JAMES (Conference on Canadian-American Affairs proceedings, 1941, ed. by R. G. Trotter and A. B. Corey, 139-81).
- North America and inter-American economic interests.* 1. *Economic interests of the United States in inter-American relations* by ADOLF A. BERLE, Jr. 2. *Canada's economic interests in the Americas* by RONALD A. McEACHERN (Conference on Canadian-American Affairs proceedings, 1941, ed. by R. G. Trotter and A. B. Corey, 104-38).
- North America in the world.* 1. By FRANK P. GRAHAM. 2. By R. C. WALLACE. (Conference on Canadian-American Affairs proceedings, 1941, ed. by R. G. Trotter and A. B. Corey, 8-23). Two addresses given at the opening session of the fourth biennial conference.
- North America's share in the maintenance of security.* 1. *Inter-American factors in security* by EDWARD MEAD EARLE. 2. *North America and the British Empire, their interdependence for security* by J. M. MACDONNELL (Conference on Canadian-American Affairs proceedings, 1941, ed. by R. G. Trotter and A. B. Corey, 195-256).
- PRINCE, A. E. *The legacy of the past: Two conferences* (Queen's quarterly, XLVIII (3), autumn, 1941, 277-83). Regard for tradition marked the discussions of both the Conference on Canadian-American Affairs, and the Conference of Canadian Artists, held recently at Queen's University, Kingston.
- Report on the work of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1940-1941.* Toronto: The Institute. 1941. Pp. 46.
- SANDWELL, B. K. *Public affairs: The Atlantic conference* (Queen's quarterly, XLVIII (3), autumn, 1941, 295-9). Points out that if we have really learned the truths that the Eight Points of the Atlantic Declaration imply, then Hitler has unwittingly performed a great service for the human race.
- SHAW, CHARLES L. *Canada's stake in the Pacific* (Canadian business, XIV (11), Nov., 1941, 22-5). Canada must prepare herself for her role as a Pacific power.
- TROTTER, REGINALD G. and COREY, A. B. (eds.). *Conference on Canadian-American Affairs: Proceedings.* Held at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, June 23-6, 1941. Under the joint auspices of Queen's University, The St. Lawrence University, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Boston, New York, Toronto, London: Ginn and Co. 1941. Pp. xvi, 287. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later. The papers are listed separately in this bibliography.
- The United States and Canada: Economic co-operation for defense* (Plan Age, VI (7), Sept., 1940, 225-54). A pamphlet published by the National Planning Association, 1721 Eye Street, Washington, D.C.
- United States' co-operation with British nations.* (National Planning Association, Washington, Planning pamphlet no. 6.) Washington: The Association. Aug., 1941. Pp. 51. (25c.)

- WOODSWORTH, CHARLES J. *Canada and the Orient: A study in international relations.* Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd. 1941. Pp. xiv, 321. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

### III. CANADA AND THE WAR

- BARTLETT, E. H. *Canada's navy* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIII (5), Nov., 1941, 214-53). Canada's greatly expanded navy is playing an ever-growing part in the Battle of the Atlantic.
- BERKINSHAW, R. C. *Co-ordinating Canada's war effort* (Industrial Canada, XLII (5), Sept., 1941, 64-5, 69).
- BOLTON, C. W. *Wartime regulation of prices and trading in Canada, 1914-1918* (Public affairs, V (1), autumn, 1941, 8-12).
- Canada and the war series*, issued by the Director of Public Information, Ottawa.
- KING, W. L. MACKENZIE. *Controlling the cost of living: Stabilization of prices and wages.* (Radio broadcast, Oct. 18, 1941.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 12.
- *Servitude or freedom: Present position of the war.* (Speech at a dinner given by the Canadian Clubs of Ottawa in his honour, Sept. 17, 1941.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 12.
- The Lord Mayor's luncheon in honour of the Prime Minister of Canada.* Addresses by Sir GEORGE HENRY WILKINSON, W. L. MACKENZIE KING, WINSTON CHURCHILL, at the Mansion House, London, England, Sept. 4, 1941. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 16.
- Canada. I. *War-time administration.* II. *Economic effects of war* (Round table, no. 124, Sept., 1941, 778-95). An enormous increase in administrative machinery, and vastly expanded production and taxation are evident, but the full significance of the war in its economic sense is still to be realized by the country.
- Canada, Dept. of Munitions and Supply. *Record of contracts awarded, with amendments to previous records. For month of May, 1941. For month of June, 1941. For month of July, 1941.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 828, 873, 489. (50c. each)
- Canada, Dept. of National War Services. *National war services regulations, 1940 (consolidation of 1941).* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 28. (25c.) In English and French.
- Canada, Director of Public Information. *Canada at war: A summary of Canada's part in the war.* No. 5. Revised to August 1, 1941. No. 6. Revised to September 1, 1941. No. 7. Revised to October 1, 1941. No. 8. Revised to November 1, 1941. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 56, 72, 79, 71.
- *Canada supplies the tools of war!* Ottawa: The Director. 1941. Pp. 36. A booklet of pictures illustrating Canada's production of war materials.
- Canada's war effort* (A. J. B. bulletin of international news, May 31, 1941).
- CLAY, CHARLES. *Western Canada's war factories* (Canadian finance, XXXIII (20), Oct., 1941, 10, 12).
- COLQUETTE, R. D. *Seeing for ourselves* (Country guide, Oct., 1941, 6-7, 37). Observations made by one of the group of Canadian editors who made an eight-day tour as guests of the government to see the highspots of the Canadian war effort.
- FETHERSTONHAUGH, R. C. (ed.). *On His Majesty's Service, VIII* (McGill news, XXIII (1), autumn, 1941, 37-44). The eighth list of appointments, promotions, and activities of McGill men and women in all branches of wartime service.

- GLENN, FERGUS. *The conscription build-up* (Canadian forum, XXI (249), Oct., 1941, 206-12). The article argues that conscription was made an issue by the attempt of the newspapers "to create the illusion of a popular demand."
- GOLDENBERG, H. C. (ed.). *Effects of government war-time expenditures on construction industry* (Canada year book, 1941, 366-8).
- HOUGHTON, F. L. *Canada's growing navy* (Canadian spokesman, I(4), May, 1941, 12-18). Outlines the work and administration of the Royal Canadian Navy.
- HOWE, C. D. *Industry, man-power, and the war*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 7. The text of a radio speech delivered over the C.B.C., September 11, 1941.
- HUTCHISON, BRUCE. *Canada's war effort* (National geographic magazine, LXXX(5), Nov., 1941, 553-90). Presents the transformation of Canada from a peaceful Dominion to a nation geared for war.
- JACK, LAWRENCE B. *Economic notes: Increasing Canada's war effort* (Canadian chartered accountant, XXXIX(4), Oct., 1941, 270-3). Greater sacrifices and far less consumption of manufactured articles could be and should be undertaken by Canadians.
- . *Economic notes: War and the Sirois Commission Report* (Canadian chartered accountant, XXXIX(3), Sept., 1941, 190-2). Believes events are making action along the lines proposed by the Report imperative.
- KAY, J. G. *Canada at Britain's side* (Canadian forum, XXI(250), Nov., 1941, 235-6). Some criticism of the collection of Mr. King's war speeches.
- LAWSON, J. K. *Military training in Canada* (Canadian congress journal, XX(9), Sept., 1941, 85-6). A speech over the C.B.C., August 10, 1941.
- MCINNIS, EDGAR. *Oxford periodical history of the war. 8. April to June, 1941. 9. July to September, 1941*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. 157-238, 239-305. (25c. each)
- . *The war: Second year*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. 318. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.
- MACKINTOSH, W. A. *The price system and the procurement of essential supplies* (C.J.E.P.S., VII(3), Aug., 1941, 338-49). Deals with specific measures of policy and organization, such as the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, the various purchasing divisions of the government, and the various Controllers of the Wartime Industries Control Board.
- PARKINSON, J. F. (ed.). *Canadian war economics*. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 191. (\$1.75) The studies in this volume were originally delivered as lectures in a series entitled "The Canadian Economy and the War," which was given at the University of Toronto in the first quarter of 1941. The authors have developed the material presented in these lectures and have brought it up to date as of June, 1941. The essays deal with the chief economic problems which have arisen in Canada as a result of the war, and with the controls and devices which have been applied to meet them. The list of authors includes members of war-time administrative boards in Ottawa as well as other experts in the field of war economics. [D. G. CREIGHTON]
- PATCH, BUEL W. *Canada's war effort* (Editorial Research reports, Washington, I (17), May 6, 1941, 75c.)
- Proclamations and Orders in Council relating to the war*. Vol. IV. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 229. Includes Orders in Council relating to the war passed between January 1, 1941, and June 30, 1941.
- RICHARDS, D. J. *War and mobility* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIII (3), Sept., 1941, 139-47). The need for highly mobile trucks, tanks, and gun-carriers, was answered by co-operation for greatest possible production by the Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors firms.



- ROBERTS, LESLIE. *Quebec and the war* (Maclean's magazine, LIV (15), Aug. 1, 1941, 5-7, 30). Believes that the French Canadian is doing well as a volunteer, and that if he were convinced that the enemy was at Canada's gates, he would accept conscription.
- SAUNDERS, R. M. *French Canada and the war*. (Food for thought series, II(1).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education. Sept., 1941. Pp. 13. (10c.)
- SHAW, A. NORMAN. *The Macdonald physics laboratory in wartime* (McGill news, XXIII (1), autumn, 1941, 7-12, 34-6). Describes in particular the course for radio technicians in the R.C.A.F.
- SILCOX, CLARIS EDWIN. 1. *The higher rationale of conscription*. 2. *Canada's need for conscription* (Saturday night, LVII (3, 5), Sept. 27, Oct. 11, 1941, 7, 6).
- SMITH, I. NORMAN. *The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan*. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1941. Pp. iv, 28. (25c.)
- Special Committee on War Expenditures. *Minutes of proceedings and evidence* (pub. from time to time). Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941.
- Special war chronology, 1940-41* (Canada year book, 1941, Appendix I, 1010-27). This chronology continues that appearing in the Canada Year Book, 1940.
- STACEY, C. P. *The new Canadian Corps* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIII (1), July, 1941, 3-51). The entire issue of the *Journal* is devoted to this very complete descriptive article about the history, training, composition, auxiliary units, etc., of the Canadian Corps in England.
- STOCKING, S. B. *Recent trends in consumption* (C.J.E.P.S., VII (3), Aug., 1941, 371-81).
- TARR, R. H. *War-time control under Foreign Exchange Control Board* (Canada year book, 1941, 833-5).
- WILSON, J. A. (ed.). *Pre-war civil aviation and defence program* (Canada year book, 1941, 802-4).

#### IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

##### (1) General History

- BLADEN, V. W. *An introduction to political economy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1941. Pp. x, 299. (\$2.25)
- BUCHAN, JOHN. *Lake of gold*. Illustrated by S. Levenson. Toronto: Musson Book Company. 1941. Pp. viii, 190. (\$2.00) A book about North America for boys and girls.
- Les Cahiers des Dix*. No. 6. Drummondville, P.Q.: La Parole Ltée. 1941. Pp. 301. To be reviewed later.
- EDWARDS, EVERETT E. *Agricultural history as a field of research* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1941, 15-23). Many current problems arise out of the rural past, and therefore research in agricultural history may give us understanding for the solution of present problems.
- GARRAGHAN, GILBERT J. *Non-economic factors in the frontier movement* (Mid-America, XXIII (4), Oct., 1941, 263-71). Believes that non-economic factors should be integrated with the economic to place the frontier hypothesis identified with Frederick Jackson Turner on a logical and defensible basis.
- LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *Les historiens d'hier et l'histoire d'aujourd'hui* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1941, 5-14). The presidential address to the Association, a translation of which was printed in the last issue of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

National Parks Bureau, Lands, Parks, and Forests Branch, Department of Mines and Resources. *Preserving Canada's historic past* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1941, 87-92). Outlines work done during the year 1940-1.

RIDDELL, R. G. (ed.). *The Canadian Historical Association: Report of the Annual Meeting held at Kingston, May 22-24, 1941, with historical papers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1941. Pp. 104. The historical papers are listed separately in this bibliography.

"Sixty Years:" *A compilation of articles describing six decades in the growth and development of Detroit and its environs, 1881-1941*. (Originally published in the Detroit Free Press, during August, 1941, in observance of Hudson's Sixtieth Jubilee Year.) Illustrated with copies of old photographs from the Burton Historical Collections in the Detroit Public Library. Detroit: The J. L. Hudson Company. 1941. Pp. 91.

## (2) New France

B., J. *Les frères Boivin* (B.R.H., XLVII (10), oct., 1941, 307-10). The three brothers Boivin, François, Charles, and Guillaume, were builders in New France in the seventeenth century.

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *La croix de Cartier: où, à Gaspé, fut-elle plantée?* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, II (4), oct.-déc., 1941, 440-3). Includes an excerpt from Cartier's *Relations* and gives various theories on this subject.

DAVIAULT, PIERRE. *Mme de Freneuse et M. de Bonaventure* (Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada, XXXV, sec. 1, mai, 1941, 37-56). The author attempts to clear the names of Mme de Freneuse and M. de Bonaventure who were linked in a scandal in Acadia in the early eighteenth century.

LAUVRIÈRE, EMILE. *Histoire de la Louisiane française, 1673-1939*. University: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. Pp. 445. (\$3.00)

MAHEUX, ARTHUR. *Les employés français de James Murray* (Canada français, XXVIII (8), avril, 1941, 765-76). This article is an extract from the author's book, *Ton Histoire est une épopée. I. Nos débuts sous le régime anglais* (reviewed p. 436), and deals with Murray's first relations with the French-Canadians after the conquest of Canada.

MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *Les coureurs de bois au XVIIe siècle* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 6, 1941, 109-44).

REED, Mrs. ADELA PELTIER. *Memoirs of Antoine Paulint, veteran of the old French war, 1755 to 1760; captain in Hasen's Second Canadian, "Congress own" regiment, 1755 to 1783; . . .* Los Angeles: D. M. Peltier. 1940.

ROBITAILLE, GEORGES. *Les débuts de la guerre de Sept ans (1756-1757)* (Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada, XXXV, sec. 1, mai, 1941, 147-60). Discusses events in these years in Europe and America.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Les chicanes de préséance sous le régime français* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 6, 1941, 67-81). Discusses quibbling over precedence among the officials of the French régime.

ROY, RÉGIS. *Le drapeau français au Canada* (B.R.H., XLVII (11), nov., 1941, 330-50). Flags used by the government and various regiments in New France.

WATSON, VIRGINIA. *Flags over Quebec: A story of the conquest of Canada*. Illustrated by Harve Stein. New York: Coward-McCann Inc. Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co. 1941. Pp. iv, 217. (\$2.50) A book for older boys and girls.

## (3) British North America before 1867

AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *Adam Thom (1802-1890)* (Mémoires de la Société royale du

Canada, XXXV, sec. 1, mai, 1941, 1-12). Adam Thom, editor of the *Montreal Herald* and later one of Lord Durham's secretaries, is described as a bitter foe of French-Canadian nationalism.

BARRY, J. NEILSON. *Site of Wallace House, 1812-1814, one mile from Salem* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLII (3), Sept., 1941, 205-7). Brings proof that the Wallace Fort of the Astorian expedition was one mile north of the present boundary of Salem, Oregon.

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *A fort that went abroad* (Queen's quarterly, XLVIII (3), autumn, 1941, 235-8). Fort Montgomery on Lake Champlain was by error built in 1818 on the Canadian, not the American, side of the boundary.

*The vicissitudes of Fort Montgomery* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XXXV, sec. 2, May, 1941, 57-67). Built at the northern end of Lake Champlain, Fort Montgomery became Canadian when the boundary line was shifted to the south in 1817.

COREY, ALBERT B. *The crisis of 1830-1842 in Canadian-American relations*. (Relations of Canada and the United States, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History; J. T. Shotwell, Director.) New Haven: Yale University Press; Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 203. (\$3.25) To be reviewed later.

CORSAR, KENNETH CHARLES. *Letters from America, 1780 and 1781* (Society for Army Historical Research journal, XX (79), autumn, 1941, 130-5). Letters written by a young officer in the Guards, who was present in many engagements in the War of Independence.

COWAN, HELEN I. *Charles Williamson: Genesee promoter—friend of Anglo-American rapprochement*. (Rochester Historical Society Publications, vol. XIX.) Rochester, N.Y.: The Society, Rundel Memorial Building. 1941. Pp. xx, 356.

GOODMAN, WARREN H. *The origins of the War of 1812: A survey of changing interpretations* (Mississippi Valley historical review, XXVIII (2), Sept., 1941, 171-86). The survey reveals that a synthesis of the various sets of causes presented by several schools of thought should be made, based upon a complete re-examination of the sources.

McKINLEY, KENNETH W. *Ohio, prize of the Revolution* (Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio bulletin, XIII (4), Oct., 1941, 13-20). Relates the story of the winning of the Old Northwest from the British.

MORTON, ARTHUR S. *Five fur trade posts on the Lower Qu'Appelle River, 1787-1819* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XXXV, sec. 2, May, 1941, 81-93). The position of the remains of four of these posts, which can be traced today, is indicated, as well as that of a fifth described by a settler who saw it in 1895.

NYE, MARY GREENE. *Tories in the Champlain Valley* (Vermont Historical Society proceedings, IX (3), Sept., 1941, 197-203). Outlines the careers of some of the outstanding Loyalists.

NUTE, GRACE LEE. *The voyageur's highway: Minnesota's border lake land*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1941. Pp. xiv, 113. (50c.) A brief, popular, historical account of the old fur-trading canoe route between Grand Portage and Rainy Lake. Various phases of the history of the border country are treated in this little volume; but the most important chapters, from the point-of-view of Canadian history, are those relating to the fur-trade. The book is not intended as a profound contribution to the subject; but Miss Nute uses her knowledge of the trade very effectively to illuminate the history of this small but important section of the fur-trade empire. [D. G. CREIGHTON]

RICHARDSON, A. J. H. *Chief Justice William Smith and the Haldimand negotiations* (Vermont Historical Society proceedings, IX (2), June, 1941, 84-114). Includes transcripts of documents in the Public Archives of Canada which throw light on the history of Vermont in the American Revolution.

STEVENS, SYLVESTER K. and KENT, DONALD H. (eds.). *The papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet*. (Northwestern Pennsylvania historical series, 21644, part I.) Prepared by Frontier Forts and Trails Survey, Federal Works Agency, Work Projects Administration. Harrisburg, Penn.: Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1941. Pp. xviii, 236. (plano.) To be reviewed later.

TURNER, ARLIN. *Hawthorne as editor: Selections from his writings in The American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*. University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 290. (\$2.75) This variegated collection of articles in *The American Magazine*, which Hawthorne edited from March to August, 1836, contains a few having reference to Canada. There is an account of a steam-boat trip on Lake Ontario from Ogdensburg to the western end in 1830 or 1831; a history of New York City; a narrative on Sir John Franklin's expedition; and some comments on Wolfe's Monument, and the Boston Tea Party.

WALTON, IVAN. *Great Lakes history—1615-1815* (Michigan history magazine, XXV (3 and 4), autumn, 1941, 276-99). Traces the history from Champlain to the end of the War of 1812.

WARDENBURG, MARTHA BIGELOW. *Will Gilliland, pioneer of the valley of Lake Champlain* (Vermont Historical Society proceedings, IX (3), Sept., 1941, 186-97). Although not a Tory, Gilliland suffered misfortunes in the Revolutionary War when Montgomery's troops straggled home through the Champlain Valley.

WILHELM, PAUL, Duke of Wuertemberg. *First journey to North America in the years 1822 to 1824*. Translated from the German by WILLIAM G. BECK (South Dakota Historical Collections, XIX, 1938, 7-474).

WILLIAMSON, CHILTON. *New York's struggle for Champlain Valley trade, 1760-1825* (New York history, XXII (4), Oct., 1941, 426-36). The Champlain Valley formed an integral part of the commercial empire of the St. Lawrence based on Montreal, which New York found it difficult to circumvent.

#### (4) The Dominion of Canada

ALCOCK, F. J. *Logan: Reminiscences of great work and great man* (Canadian mining journal, LXII (6), June, 1941, 373-8). Reminiscences about the founder and first director of the Geological Survey of Canada.

——— *William Spafford Dyer (1894-1941)* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 101-2). An obituary of Dr. Dyer, who served in the Geological Survey of Canada and the Ontario Department of Mines in his career.

*Annual report of Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for fiscal year ended March 31, 1941*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 25.

BABCOCK, WILLOUGHBY M. *Grand Portage rises again* (Beaver, outfit 272, Sept., 1941, 52-5). The North-West Company fort at Grand Portage, Minnesota, the great western distributing point for the Company, has now been reconstructed.

Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Dept. of Trade and Commerce. *The Canada year book, 1941: Official statistical annual of the resources, history, institutions, and social and economic conditions of the Dominion*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. xlx, 1053. (\$1.50)

Canadian Correspondent. *A Tory Dominion* (New statesman and nation, XXII (549), Aug. 30, 1941, 204). Points out that Canada's reputation of being the most conservative of all the English-speaking countries is essentially true.

CLARK, W. C. *Oscar Douglas Skelton (1878-1941)* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 141-7). All Canada will feel the loss of Dr. Skelton. See C.H.R., June issue, 1941, p. 232.

DAVIS, AUBREY. *Canada: Early—now—later* (Industrial Canada, XLII (7), Nov., 74-7). An address given in New York on October 8 in connection with the National Foreign Trade Conference.

- DAVIS, T. C. (ed.). *National registration, 1940* (Canada year book, 1941, 70-1).
- FERGUSON, GEORGE V. *Canada the "interpreter"* (University of Toronto quarterly, XI (1), Oct., 1941, 40-5). A slightly new approach to an old theme.
- FRASER, DONALD T. *John Gerald Fitzgerald (1882-1940)* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 113-15). An obituary article outlining the career of the late Director of the School of Hygiene and Director of the Connaught Laboratories, University of Toronto.
- GODSELL, PHILIP H. *Our "first Canadians" do their bit* (Dalhousie review, XXI (3), Oct., 1941, 287-92). Canada's Indian tribes are doing their bit, both in the services abroad and in the war effort at home.
- HUNTER, ANDREW. *Sir Frederick Grant Banting (1891-1941)* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 87-93). An obituary of Canada's leading scientist in medical and aviation research at the time of his death in March, 1941, the discoverer of insulin and the director of the Department of Medical Research in the University of Toronto.
- IRVING, T. B. *The Vinland riddle* (University of Toronto quarterly, XI (1), Oct., 1941, 97-104). Points out that the proper attitude should no longer be one of scepticism, and advises a scientific treatment of the matter.
- JENNESS, DIAMOND. *William John Wintemberg (1876-1941)* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 155-7). An obituary of one of Canada's leading authorities on archaeology.
- KENRICK, FRANK B. *William Lash Miller (1866-1940)* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 131-4). An obituary of the former Head of the Department of Chemistry in the University of Toronto.
- MCILWRAITH, T. F. (ed.). *Report on current research in the social sciences in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Research Council in the Social Sciences, J. E. Robbins, sect., 166 Marlborough Ave. 1941. (mimeo.)
- MACKENZIE, IAN. *Canada's war on disease* (Saturday night, LVI (43), July 5, 1941, 13). Looks forward to a constructive joint health program on a broad national basis.
- . *Today and tomorrow* (Labour review, V (10), Oct., 1941, 159-60). An address by the Minister of Pensions and National Health broadcast from Ottawa, September 16, 1941.
- MCNAUGHTON, A. G. L. *Research in Canada* (Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission bulletin, XXVIII (10), Oct., 1941, 327-34). Abridgement of a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts on April 13, 1941.
- MALLORY, J. R. *The "compact" theory of Confederation* (Dalhousie review, XXI (3), Oct., 1941, 342-51). A discussion of sectionalism in Canada and of the fairly widely held idea of Confederation as a compact made among the various provinces.
- MAURAULT, OLIVIER. *Ægidius Fauleux* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 6, 1941, 9-18). An appreciation and brief biography of Ægidius Fauleux, a member of the Groupe des Dix who died in 1941.
- . *Ægidius Fauleux (1876-1941)* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 103-11). See also C.H.R., June, 1941, p. 231, for obituary note.
- MONTAGUE, SYDNEY R. *Riders in scarlet: The way of life of the Mounties*. (The Way of Life series, ed. by Eric Bender.) Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co. 1941. Pp. 64.
- MORIN, VICTOR. *L'honorable Ernest Choquette (1862-1941)* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 95-100). An obituary. Dr. Choquette was a member of the Legislative Council of Quebec.

- MORISON, J. L. *The Canadian nation*. (Longman's pamphlets on the British Commonwealth, no. 4.) London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd. 1941. Pp. 60. (25c.)
- O'LEARY, M. GRATTAN. *Minister for Air* (Maclean's magazine, LIV (13), Sept. 15, 1941, 11, 41). Sketches the career of the Hon. Charles "Chubby" Power.
- PATTERSON, JOHN. *Sir Frederic Stupart (1857-1940)* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 149-53). An obituary article about one of the world's pioneers in weather forecasting.
- PATTULLO, T. D. *Statement at Dominion-Provincial Conference with reference to Report of Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, held at Ottawa, Jan. 14, 1941*. [Victoria: King's Printer.] Pp. 7. The statement of the Premier of British Columbia.
- PEARCE, J. A. *William Edmund Harper (1878-1940)* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 117-19). An obituary article on one of Canada's leading astronomers.
- PLUMPTRE, B. A. and A. F. W. *Canada* (Royal Economic Society memorandum, no. 86, May, 1941, 23-6). A survey of several economic problems which have been receiving governmental attention.
- PORTER, DANA. 1. *Murdoch Macpherson as Conservative leader*. 2. *George Drew as Conservative leader*. 3. *Conservative leadership material: Sydney Smith*. 4. *Macdonnell as Conservative leader* (Saturday night, LVII (4, 5, 6, 7), Oct. 4, 11, 18, 25). Four articles based on the four most likely candidates for the leadership of the Conservative party.
- Royal Society of Canada. *List of members and minutes of proceedings, 1941*. (From Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, XXXV, May, 1941.) Ottawa: The Royal Society. 1941. Pp. iv, 210.
- SHAW, A. NORMAN. *Frederick Murray Godshall Johnson* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 121-5). An obituary article on the late Head of the Department of Chemistry and Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research at McGill University.
- SMITH, F. D. L. *Arthur Meighen and the party leadership* (Saturday night, LVII (11), Nov. 22, 1941, 14). A brief glimpse of the new Conservative leader's Parliamentary past, the principles for which he stands, and a prophecy of what may be expected of him.
- Social scientist in the modern world* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1941, 83-6). A general discussion based on A. R. M. Lower's paper, "The Social Sciences in the Post-War World" (C.H.R., March, 1941, 1-13).
- SOWARD, F. H. *Sir Robert Borden and Canada's external policy, 1911-1920* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1941, 65-82). Outlines the events and negotiations which led up to the recognition of national status for the Dominions sought by Sir Robert.
- TEES, FREDERICK J. *Tait McKenzie* (McGill news, XXIII (1), autumn, 1941, 28-9). Robert Tait McKenzie developed his talent for sculpture while on the staff at McGill.
- VAUGHAN, SUSAN E. *Helen R. Y. Reid* (McGill news, XXIII (1), autumn, 1941, 30). One of the first women to enter McGill and take her degree, Miss Reid was an outstanding graduate of the University.
- WALLACE, ROBERT C. *Planning for Canada* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 65-83). The presidential address. A consideration of the great contributions the Royal Society can make in planning for Canada.

WILSON, ALICE E. *Edward Martin Kindie (1869-1940)* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 127-30). The late Dr. Kindie was a member of the staff of the Geological Survey of Canada.

WITKE, CARL. *A history of Canada*. New York: F. S. Crofts and Co. 1941. Pp. 491. (\$5.00) A third edition revised, with two new chapters presenting the story from 1932 to the present.

#### (5) The Great War

HASSE, F. R. *A touched-up war diary* (Forty-niner, no. 33, July, 1941, 15-20). The thirteenth instalment of a diary account of early days in France of the 49th Battalion, Edmonton Regiment.

TUCKER, GILBERT NORMAN. *The organizing of the East Coast patrols, 1914-1918* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1941, 32-40). The patrols were a successful venture in imperial co-operation.

### V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

#### (1) The Maritime Provinces

ARNOLD, FREDERIC K. *Islands adrift: St. Pierre and Miquelon* (National geographic magazine, LXXX (6), Dec., 1941, 743-68). Far from self-sufficient in normal times, the islands are now completely cut off from France and dependent upon Canada and the United States.

EDWARDS, FREDERICK. *East Coast port* (Maclean's magazine, LIV (19), Oct. 1, 1941, 9-11, 46-8). No other Canadian city has been so profoundly affected by the war as Halifax, N.S.

*Farthest East* (Maclean's magazine, LIV (21), Nov. 1, 1941, 18-19, 37-41). Descriptive article about Sydney and Glace Bay, Cape Breton Island, in war-time.

HARVEY, D. C. *Scottish immigration to Cape Breton* (Dalhousie review, XXI (3), Oct., 1941, 313-24). Discusses some of the problems faced by the government of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia by the sudden influx of penniless Scots.

MCANN, AIDA B. *Prince Edward Island: "Home cradled on the waves"* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIII (2), Aug., 1941, 65-79). A descriptive article.

MACLENNAN, HUGH. *Barometer rising*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce [Toronto: Collins]. 1941. Pp. x, 326. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

WEBSTER, JOHN CLARENCE (ed.). *The building of Fort Lawrence in Chignecto: A journal recently found in the Gates Collection, New York Historical Society*. (Historic Studies no. 2, Publications of the New Brunswick Museum.) Saint John, N.B.: The Museum. 1941. Pp. 23. Maps and plates.

#### (2) The Province of Quebec

ALCOCK, F. J. *Around Gaspé* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIII (2), Aug., 1941, 80-103). Historical, geological, and descriptive article about the peninsula.

BERNARD, HARRY. *Souvenirs sur Louis Francœur* (Canada français, XXIX (2), oct., 1941, 81-9). Memories of the late Louis Francœur, journalist and politician.

BRUCHÉSI, JEAN. *Rappels*. Montréal: Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1941. Pp. 231. A collection of articles on various subjects, some of which are historical.

CARON, IVANHOË. *Joseph-Octave Plessis* (Canada français, XXVIII (8, 10), avril, juin, 1941, 784-96, 1029-36). Continues the biographical study begun in a preceding number of this review.



HUGHES, EVERETT C. and McDONALD, MARGARET L. *French and English in the economic structure of Montreal* (C.J.E.P.S., VII (4), Nov., 1941, 493-505).

LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *Le Québec et la Révolution américaine* (Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada, XXXV, sec. 1, mai, 1941, 91-111).

LEPAGE-THIBAUDEAU, MARCELLE. *Le moulin de Vincennes et l'éducation nationale* (Canada français, XXVIII (8), avril, 1941, 837-45). The author declares that this mill, built in 1733 near Lévis and still standing, should become a national shrine.

MARION, SÉRAPHIN. *La dictature et le Canada français de 1800* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, II (4), oct.-déc., 1941, 444-60). Continues M. Marion's article in the preceding number of this review on the reactions of French Canada to the régime of Napoleon in France.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Au hasard des recherches* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 6, 1941, 167-94). A series of notes on a number of subjects, such as: "La salle publique de Montréal au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle" and "Le service postal entre Montréal et Québec sous le régime français."

— *Les demeures de Denis-Benjamin Viger* (B.R.H., XLVII (9), sept., 1941, 269-75). Brief biography of Denis-Benjamin Viger (1774-1861), lawyer and journalist of Montreal.

— *Les enseignes à Montréal, autrefois et aujourd'hui* (B.R.H., XLVII (12), déc., 1941, 353-7). Signs used on inns, etc., and as advertisements from the time of the French régime to the present day.

— *Le gentilhomme pauvre* (B.R.H., XLVII (7), juillet, 1941, 209-11). Brief sketch of the life of Claude Bouillet (1713-1751).

— *L'ultime aventure du journaliste Jautard* (B.R.H., XLVII (11), nov., 1941, 328-30). Valentin Jautard, the first French journalist in Montreal, came to Canada in 1767.

MORIN, VICTOR. *La féodalité à vécu . . .* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 6, 1941, 225-87). Compares old French feudalism with the French-Canadian seigneurial system.

PROVOST, HONORIUS. *La canoterie* (Canada français, XXVIII (10), juin, 1941, 1059-68). The story of the origin and development of this street in Québec, the Côte de la Canoterie.

R., P.-G. *L'inventaire d'un seigneur canadien* (B.R.H., XLVII (11), nov., 1941, 321-3). An inventory of the possessions of M. Couillard, seigneur of Beaumont, taken in 1757.

SAUNDERS, R. M. *Toronto et Québec* (Canada français, XXIX (1), sept., 1941, 13-16). The French translation of an article appearing in *Saturday Night* under the title, "The French Canadians are ready to play ball."

*Statistical year book, Quebec, 1940.* Quebec: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. xxxiv, 444. The *Quebec Year Book*, now in its twenty-seventh year, contains historical as well as contemporary information, though the emphasis is on the latter. Some of the subjects are covered also in the *Canada Year Book*, but on others historians may turn to the provincial publication for information not readily accessible elsewhere. Under the heading of administration, for example, are lists of the Executive Council before and after Confederation. The volume is printed in French and English. [G. deT. GLAZEBROOK]

### (3) The Province of Ontario

AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *Les frères Robillard* (B.R.H., XLVII (8), août, 1941, 239-41). Brief account of the lives of Honoré and Alexandre Robillard who were rival candidates for the Ontario legislature in the county of Russell in 1883.

DAVIES, RAYMOND ARTHUR. *Community war* (Maclean's magazine, LIV (19), Oct. 15, 1941, 18-19, 37-40). A study of the war's effect on a small town of twenty-five hundred people, Georgetown, Ontario.

LONDON, FRED. *When Laurier met Ontario* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XXXV, sec. 2, May, 1941, 1-14). Describes Sir Wilfrid Laurier's trip to Western Ontario in 1888 when he made a number of speeches dealing with the chief political issues of the day.

POOLE, THOMAS W. *A sketch of the early settlement and subsequent progress of the town of Peterborough, and of each township in the county of Peterborough*. Peterborough: *The Peterborough Review*. 1867. Reprinted by the Peterborough Printing Co., 1941. Pp. viii, 220, 76. Reviewed on p. 442.

SMITH, R. M. *Northern Ontario: "Limits of land settlement for the good citizen"* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIII (4), Oct., 1941, 182-210). Northern Ontario is a vast empire, whose colonization will take many years, but whose rewards to the pioneers will be great.

WALLACE, W. STEWART. *The story of Charlotte and Cornelia de Grassi* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XXXV, sec. 2, May, 1941, 147-53). An account of a hitherto little known episode in the Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada.

#### (4) The Prairie Provinces

AUCLAIR, L'abbé ELIE-J. *L'honorable juge Prud'homme (1853-1941)* (Royal Society of Canada proceedings, XXXV, May, 1941, 135-40). An obituary of Judge Prud'homme, district court judge in Manitoba from 1885 to 1925.

#### (5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

CAMPBELL, BURT R. *Kamloops Museum Association* (Okanagan Historical Society annual report, 1941, 31-4). Describes the work of the Association since its formation in 1936.

CARROTHERS, W. A. *The British Columbia fisheries*. With a foreword by H. A. Innis. (University of Toronto Political Economy series no. 10.) Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1941. Pp. xvi, 137. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.

*The Company in Victoria* (Beaver, outfit 272, Sept., 1941, 4-9). Describes the building of a new fort in the 1840's, upon its removal from old Fort Vancouver.

CREECH, E. P. *Similkameen trails, 1846-1861* (British Columbia historical quarterly, V (4), Oct., 1941, 255-68). An account of the various trails to the Similkameen country and the various exploits of the pioneer road-builders.

DAVIDSON, DONALD C. *The war scare of 1854: The Pacific Coast and the Crimean War* (British Columbia historical quarterly, V(4), Oct., 1941, 243-54). During the entire period of the war an agreement between the Russian American Company and the Hudson's Bay Company to regard the territories of the two companies as neutral, maintained peaceful relations on the Coast and protected the colony on Vancouver Island.

GREVE, ALICE. *Dr. McLoughlin's house* (Beaver, outfit 272, Sept., 1941, 32-5). The house of the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in old Fort Vancouver, now Oregon City, has recently been declared a National Historic Site.

HOWAY, F. W. (ed.). *The voyage of the "Captain Cook" and the "Experiment," 1785-86* (British Columbia historical quarterly, V (4), Oct., 1941, 285-96). Contains the sailing directions governing the voyage to the Northwest Coast in the fur-trade, 1786.

IRELAND, WILLARD E. *Pre-Confederation defence problems of the Pacific colonies* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1941, 41-54). Examines the role which considerations of defence played in the union of the Pacific colonies with Canada.

LAING, F. W. *Scotty and Scottie Creek* (Okanagan Historical Society annual report, 1941, 56-63). William "Scotty" Donaldson left his nickname as the official designation of two creeks in British Columbia.

*Mr. Beaver objects* . . . (Beaver, outfit 272, Sept., 1941, 10-13). Appointed chaplain and missionary to Fort Vancouver in 1836, Mr. Beaver found that he and Chief Factor McLoughlin were opposed in both religious tenets and temperament.

MAZOUR, ANATOLE G. *The prelude to Russia's departure from America* (Pacific historical review, X (3), Sept., 1941, 311-19). The sale of Alaska to the United States was a blow aimed at British influence on the Pacific.

NORRIS, L. *Judge Begbie and the miners in Cariboo* (Okanagan Historical Society annual report, 1941, 38-42). Refutes a statement that Judge Begbie was greatly admired and respected by the miners.

Okanagan Historical Society. *Ninth report*. Vernon, B.C.: The Society. 1941. Pp. 75. (\$1.00)

ORMSBY, MARGARET A. *Canadian opinion on British Columbia's entry into Confederation* (Okanagan Historical Society annual report, 1941, 35-7). In the period 1867-71, entry of the Pacific province into Confederation was greatly desired by the East.

PATTEN, SOPHIA. *Henry Jergen Ehmke* (Okanagan Historical Society annual report, 1941, 64-6). Brief biography of a Danish-German immigrant into British Columbia in 1850.

#### (6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

EDERER, B. F. *Aklavik to Fort Yukon* (Beaver, outfit 272, Sept., 1941, 19-23). The story of a canoe trip from Aklavik on the Mackenzie through the mountains to the Yukon.

FINNIE, RICHARD. *Canada moves north* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIII (5), Nov., 1941, 254-63). A saga of social and economic changes in the District of Mackenzie from the inception of the fur-trade to the recent opening up of oil wells, radium, and gold mines.

FLEMING, A. L. *The first coming of civilization to the north* (Canadian churchman, LXVIII (34,35), Sept. 25, 1941, 534; Oct. 2, 551). Describes the development of Christianity in Greenland from the early pagan days of Erik the Red.

MONTACUTE, G. *Labrador: Canada's problem* (Saturday night, LVII (6), Oct. 18, 1941, 6). Canada must assume responsibility for Labrador, a cog in the defence of North America.

NELSON, R. *The cod-fishers of Labrador* (Empire review, LXXIV (488), Sept., 1941, 123-7).

*Where farms meet frontiers* (Beaver, outfit 272, Sept., 1941, 44-7). Writes of the pioneer farmer in Canada's last frontier, the Peace River country.

#### (7) Newfoundland

GRAHAM, GERALD S. *Fisheries and sea-power* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1941, 24-31). Declares that the strategic significance of the Newfoundland fisheries as a "nursery for seamen" was over-emphasized, though undoubtedly important in the early days.

McLINTOCK, A. H. *The establishment of constitutional government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832: A study of retarded colonization*. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1941. Pp. xvi, 246. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.

### VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

#### (1) General

BEACH, E. F. *A measurement of the productive capacity of wealth* (C.J.E.P.S., VII (4), Nov., 1941, 538-44).

- COHEN, J. L. *Collective bargaining in Canada: An examination of the legislative record and policy of the Government of the Dominion of Canada*. Toronto: Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, 302 Manning Chambers. 1941. Pp. 93. (50c.)
- FORSEY, EUGENE. *Mr. King and the government's labor policy* (Canadian forum, XXI (250), Nov., 1941, 231-2). "It is as thoroughly and consistently anti-union as it dares to be; . . . it is the personal policy of the Prime Minister."
- GRUBE, G. M. A. *Company unions and the government* (Canadian forum, XXI (249), Oct., 1941, 213-14). "Company unions are indeed a sham . . . I pray the government may come to its senses before it is too late."
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Labor law by order in council* (Canadian forum, XXI (250), Nov., 1941, 237-40). Discusses the recent order in council on labor—P.C. 7307 of September 16, 1941.
- HOWE, C. D. *Labour's war-time responsibility* (Labour review, V(9), Sept., 1941, 135-6). Mr. Howe's radio speech of September 11, 1941.
- KILDUFF, VERA REYNOLDS. *Economic factors in the development of Canadian-American trade* (submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Brown University, Oct., 1938) (Southern economic journal, VIII (2), Oct., 1941, 201-17).
- LASKIN, BORA. *Collective bargaining in Canada: In peace and war* (Food for thought, II (3), Nov., 1941, 8-17). Examines the government's policy. "The legislative position of the government on the fundamentals of industrial democracy . . . can only be characterized as anachronistic."
- LIEBERMAN, H. R. 1. *Canada suppresses labor to fight "peoples" war*. 2. *Canada interns union leaders without trial* (PM (N.Y.), Nov. 10, 11, 1941).
- LOGAN, H. A. *Canada's control of labour relations*. (Behind the headlines series, II (2).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1941. Pp. 29. (10c.)
- MACGREGOR, D. C. *Studies of the cost of living in Canada* (C.J.E.P.S., VII (4), Nov., 1941, 545-58).
- O'MEARA, J. E. *Co-operative legislation in Canada, 1941* (Economic annalist, XI (5), Oct., 1941, 68-74).
- T., J. S. *Topics of the day: Unemployment insurance* (Dalhousie review, XXI (3), Oct., 1941, 362-5).
- WILSON, KENNETH R. *Labor and the war* (Maclean's magazine, LIV (19), Oct. 1, 1941, 16, 26-7, 30). Describes Canada's war-time labour policy.
- (2) **Agriculture**
- Agriculture in the second year of war* (Bank of Nova Scotia monthly review, XV (8), August, 1941, pp. 4).
- BARTON, G. S. H. (ed.). *Effects of war on Canadian agriculture* (Canada year book, 1941, 138-44).
- BRITNELL, G. E. *What about wheat?* (Behind the headlines series, II (1).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1941. Pp. 26. (10c.)
- HAYTHORNE, GEORGE V. and MARSH, LEONARD C. *Land and labour: A social survey of agriculture and the farm labour market in central Canada*. (McGill University social research series, no. 11.) Montreal: McGill University, Social Research Offices; London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. 525. (\$4.00) 57 maps and charts.

JONES, ROBERT LESLIE. *The Canadian agricultural tariff of 1843* (C.J.E.P.S., VII (4), Nov., 1941, 528-37).

PEMBERTON, R. E. K. *What promise for agriculture?* (Canadian forum, XXI (248), Sept., 1941, 171-3). Too many farmers are producing for less than cost, and many of them at present do not even realize that this is so.

PURSER, RALPH. *Cheese as a war-time necessity* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIII (3), Sept., 1941, 133-7). Canadian cheese producers will have to labour hard to meet the export demand for their products.

WHEELER, LESLIE A. *Agricultural surpluses in the postwar world* (Foreign affairs, XX (1), Oct., 1941, 87-101). The section on wheat has reference to Canada.

### (3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

ANGUS, H. F. *The effect of the war on Oriental minorities in Canada* (C.J.E.P.S., VII (4), Nov., 1941, 506-16).

BLAIR, EDITH C. *Land settlement in Nova Scotia* (Public affairs, V(1), autumn, 1941, 4-7). Considers two recent land settlement schemes in Nova Scotia which have not succeeded.

YODER, SANFORD C. *For conscience sake: A study of Mennonite migration resulting from the World War*. Goshen, Ind.: Mennonite Historical Society. 1940. Pp. 300. (\$2.00) The migrations discussed include those in North America, and those of Russian Mennonites to Canada, Mexico, Brazil, and Paraguay.

### (4) Geography

GELLATLY, DOROTHY HEWLETT. *Basaltic columns at Westbank* [B.C.] (Okanagan Historical Society annual report, 1941, 11-14). A study of rock formations.

HOULDSWORTH, EDGAR. *The Big Muddy Valley of southern Saskatchewan* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIII (3), Sept., 1941, 116-31). This little known valley is a highly important, yet practically virgin, field for the geological student and fossil collector.

### (5) Transportation and Communication

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Constructeurs de navires* (Canada français, XXVIII (8, 9), avril, mai, 1941, 805-14, 899-907). Deals with sailing ships constructed at Quebec and steamships at Montreal from the earliest times down to the present day.

BERLE, A. A., Jr. *Great lakes-St. Lawrence Waterway project* (Vital speeches, July 1, 1941, 2 pp.).

CHEVRIER, LIONEL. *Opening our waterways* (Canadian spokesman, I (4), May, 1941, 28-35). Another article discussing the St. Lawrence Waterway.

*The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway reaches Congress again* (Congressional digest, XX, May, 1941, 131-60).

MCDUGALL, J. L. *St. Lawrence Waterway: A study of economic aspects*. Montreal: Canadian Electrical Association. 1941. Pp. 28.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Les p'tits chars d'autrefois* (B.R.H., XLVII (10), oct., 1941, 300-4). The evolution of the tramway in Montreal.

ROY, RÉGIS. *Traversées de l'Atlantique aux 17<sup>e</sup> et 18<sup>e</sup> siècles* (B.R.H., XLVII (8), août, 1941, 244-5). Gives the time taken by various ships to cross the Atlantic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

*St. Lawrence survey. 1. History of the St. Lawrence project. 2. Shipping services on the St. Lawrence River. 4. Effect of the St. Lawrence seaway upon existing harbours. 5. St. Lawrence seaway and future transportation requirements. 6. Economic effects of St. Lawrence power project.* Washington: Govt. Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents. 1941. Pp. 39, 40, 71, 83, 126. (15c., 25c., 15c., 15c., 20c.)

TESSIER, ALBERT. *Les voyages vers 1800* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 6, 1941, 83-108). Travel by road and water in Upper and Lower Canada.

VAUGHAN, R. C. *Transportation in wartime* (Canadian national magazine, XXVII (11), Nov., 1941, 2-3, 15-17). Partial text of a speech made by the new president of the National System.

WARDLE, J. M. *Canada's national parks and tourist highway development* (Municipal review of Canada, Nov., 1941, 21-4).

WINTHER, OSCAR O. *Commercial routes from 1792 to 1843 by sea and overland* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLII (3), Sept., 1941, 230-46). The development of these routes ended the geographic isolation of the Pacific Northwest and opened it up for commerce.

## VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

CALVIN, D. D. *The stamp of Queen's* (Queen's quarterly, XLVIII (3), autumn, 1941, 209-15). Plus ça change, plus ça reste la même chose.

CAMPBELL, P. G. C. *A university forty years ago* (Queen's quarterly, XLVIII (3), autumn, 1941, 249-57). Impressions and memories of Queen's University in 1902.

COLLARD, EDGAR ANDREW. *The McGill campus in other days* (McGill news, XXIII (1), autumn, 1941, 25-7, 36). Describes the gradual development of the McGill campus upon the summer estate which James McGill bequeathed to the university.

First Canadian Hazen Conference. *The influence of the university in Canada on the life of the student* (The Hazen Conferences, 1941, pp. 26).

GORDON, WILHELMINA. *Daniel M. Gordon: His life*. Foreword by W. E. McNeill. Toronto, Halifax: The Ryerson Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 313. (\$3.50) See p. 435.

HAMILTON, H. J. *First 100 years of Queen's* (Saturday night, LVII (5), Oct. 11, 1941, 10-11).

MAGNAN, C.-J. *Educateurs d'autrefois: anciens professeurs de l'Ecole normale Laval* (B.R.H., XLVII (12), déc., 1941, 357-62). Deals with Emile de Fenouillet, professor at Laval from 1857 to 1859.

— *Educateurs d'autrefois: F. X. Toussaint* (B.R.H., XLVII (10), oct., 1941, 304-6). Monsieur Toussaint was professor at the Ecole normale in Quebec from 1857 to 1894.

MOWAT, ALEX. S. *What is wrong with our schools?* (Public affairs, V (1), autumn, 1941, 1-4). The writer considers that two things are wrong: (i) High school education of a sufficiently varied type is not provided, and (ii) gross inequalities of educational opportunity exist.

MURRAY, WALTER C. *The University of Saskatchewan* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XXXV, sec. 2, May, 1941, 95-117). The story of the growth of the University of Saskatchewan from the time when there were two universities, one incorporated by the Dominion in 1883; the other by the province in 1907.

NOSEWORTHY, J. W. *The school—bulwark of democracy* (Canadian forum, XXI (248), Sept., 1941, 168-70). Points out that too much lip-service and not enough sincere service is given to the schools as the training-ground for democracy.

POULIN, GONZALVE. *L'enseignement des sciences sociales dans les universités canadiennes* (Culture, II (3), sept., 1941, 338-49).

ROBBINS, J. E. (ed.). *Recent advances in field of education* (Canada year book, 1941, 876-83).

TAYLOR, GRIFFITH. *Geography at the University of Toronto* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIII (3), Sept., 1941, 152-4). A comment on the teaching of geography in Canada.

### VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *L'abbé Etienne Chartier* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 6, 1941, 211-23). Discusses the part played by the abbé Etienne Chartier (1798-1853) in the rebellion of 1837-8 in Quebec.

BARABÉ, PAUL-HENRI. *Mgr Adélard Langevin, O.M.I., éducateur* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, II (4), oct.-déc., 1941, 461-71). Continues M. Barabé's article in the preceding number of this review on the life and work of the Archbishop of St. Boniface from 1895 to 1915.

BRUCHÉSI, JEAN. *La vocation sulpicienne de Monseigneur Bruchési* (Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada, XXXV, sec. 1, mai, 1941, 23-35). The influence of Saint-Sulpice in the life of the second archbishop of Montreal.

BUTCHART, REUBEN (comp.). *Old Everton and the pioneer movement amongst the Disciples of Christ in Eramosa Township, Upper Canada, from 1830*. Toronto: The compiler, 27 Albany Ave. 1941. Pp. x, 58. Sketches of pioneer churches which helped to blaze a way towards "Christian Union" in Canada.

CARON, IVANHOË. *Prêtres séculiers et religieux qui ont exercé le saint ministère dans la Nouvelle-France (1659-1669)* (B.R.H., XLVII (7, 8, 9, 10), juillet, août, sept., oct., 1941, 193-201, 225-35, 257-68, 289-99).

FAUTEUX, ÆGIDIUS. *Trois siècles de missions canadiennes* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 6, 1941, 19-47). The author divides the history of missions in Canada into two periods: (i) from the beginning to the end of the French régime, (ii) from the early nineteenth century to the present time.

*50th anniversary of St. Philip's Church, Montreal West, 1891-1941* (Montreal churchman, XXIX (9), Sept., 1941, 10-11, 18).

FOX, W. SHERWOOD. *St. Ignace, Canadian altar of martyrdom* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XXXV, sec. 2, May, 1941, 69-79). The story of the discovery and authentication of the site of St. Ignace II, where Brébeuf and Lalemant were martyred in March, 1649.

PRÉVOST-LAMARRE, CÉCILE. *Par monts et par vaux à la suite du roi du nord: Le 50e anniversaire de la mort du curé Labelle*. Saint-Jérôme, P.Q.: Editions de l'Avenir du Nord. 1941. Pp. 70. This biographical sketch of the curé Labelle appeared originally as a series of articles in the St. Jerome newspaper, *l'Avenir du Nord*. Father Labelle was a big man in more senses than the obviously physical. A speculator on the future of French Canada, he was an enthusiastic exponent of the colonisation of the Laurentides, of selective immigration, and of railway construction. He died in 1891, a Minister of the Crown, probably the only Catholic priest to hold such an office since the Reformation. This is the figure, along with its vigorously expressed views, that the authoress recreates in her brief, but remarkably comprehensive little book. [J. I. COOPER]

R., P.-G. *L'abbé Michel Dufresne* (B.R.H., XLVII (11), nov., 1941, 326-8). Brief sketch of the life of the abbé Michel Dufresne (1791-1843).

*St. George's Cathedral, Kingston, Ontario, 1791-1941* (Canadian churchman, LXVIII (36), Oct. 9, 1941, 568-70).

*St. John's Church, Ancaster, Ontario* (Canadian churchman, LXVIII (31), Sept. 4, 1941, 484). St. John's is celebrating its 125th anniversary this year.



SPRAGGE, GEORGE W. *The Christian Recorder* (Canadian churchman, LXVIII (36, 37), Oct. 9, 16, 1941, 565, 582). The year 1941 is the 122nd anniversary of the *Christian Recorder*, the first church paper in Upper Canada.

*The story of a parish* (Canadian churchman, LXVIII(41), Nov. 13, 1941, 648-50). St. John's Church, West Toronto, celebrates its diamond jubilee this year.

TALMAN, J. J. *Bishop Strachan* (Canadian churchman, LXVIII (33), Sept. 18, 1941, 516). Brief account of his career and of the founding of Trinity College.

#### IX. GENEALOGY

BERNEVAL. *Origine des Gélinas* (B.R.H., XLVII (9), sept., 1941, 275-8). Gives various spellings of the name and notes on some of the first members of the family to come to Canada.

SURVEYER, E. FABRE. *The Bouchette family* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XXXV, sec. 2, May, 1941, 135-46). 1941 is the centenary of the death of Joseph Bouchette, the genealogy of whose family is given here.

#### X. BIBLIOGRAPHY

*A bibliography of current publications on Canadian economics* (C.J.E.P.S., each issue).

COTTER, H. M. S. (comp.). *A fur trade glossary* (Beaver, outfit 272, Sept., 1941, 36-9). A list of the odd words and expressions peculiar to the fur trade.

GRAS, N. S. B. (comp.). *List of books and articles on the economic history of the United States and Canada* (Economic history review, XI(1), 1941, 114-25). Continues a list which appeared in volume X(2).

#### XI. ART AND LITERATURE

BALDWIN, MARTIN. *The exhibition as a medium for the study and teaching of history* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1941, 55-64). States the belief that visual material, properly integrated, is essential in studying and teaching history.

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Backgrounds in Canadian art* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XXXV, sec. 2, May, 1941, 29-39). An analysis of Canadian cultural materials from various racial sources—mainly Indian, French, and British.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Backgrounds in North American folk arts* (Queen's quarterly, XLVIII (3), autumn, 1941, 284-94). Suggests the great potential scope of American folk-arts, through mixing French, Indian, English, Norwegian, and other influences.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The beaver in Canadian art* (Beaver, outfit 272, Sept., 1941, 14-18). *Potiers canadiens* (Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada, XXXV, sec. 1, mai, 1941, 13-21). Discusses early Canadian potters and shows the influence of English and American potters on them.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Potiers canadiens* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 27ème année (107), sept., 1941, 252-70). Potters and their methods in Quebec in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Types de maisons canadiennes* (Canada français, XXIX(1), sept., 1941, 35-43). Discussion of French-Canadian architecture.

BUCHANAN, DONALD W. *The gentle and the austere: A comparison in landscape painting* (University of Toronto quarterly, XI(1), Oct., 1941, 72-7). Examines and compares the work of James Wilson Morrice and Emily Carr.

DILWORTH, IRA. *Emily Carr—Canadian artist-author* (Saturday night, LVII (8), Nov. 1, 1941, 26). A picture of the artist's life and early struggles.

HOULÉ, LÉOPOLD. *Notre théâtre et la critique* (Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada, XXXV, sec. 1, mai, 1941, 77-90). Reviews the drama in Quebec and deplors the lack of constructive criticism among French-Canadians.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

WILLIAM FRANCIS GANONG  
(1864-1941)

Dr. Ganong was born in Carleton (now West Saint John), N.B. After attending the public schools he entered the University of New Brunswick, graduating as B.A. in 1884; in 1886 he took an M.A. degree. He carried on postgraduate work at Harvard (B.A., 1887), and in Munich (Ph.D., 1894). In 1885 he became a science teacher in Worcester, Mass. From 1887 to 1892 he was Morgan Fellow and Instructor in Botany at Harvard. Then he was appointed Professor of Botany and Director of the Botanical Gardens at Smith College, Northampton, Mass. Among his honorary distinctions may be mentioned those of President of the Botanical Society of America, Secretary of the Society for Plant Morphology and Physiology, and Corresponding Member of the Royal Society of Canada. He was author of various works on botany, his text-book for colleges having been widely used.

Dr. Ganong's fame in Canada is based on his historical researches, relating chiefly to the Maritime Provinces, and on his studies in the cartography of the east coast of North America. Throughout his adult life, besides being a professional botanist, he was continually active in the latter spheres of work, as evidenced by many original monographs and papers which he published. A large percentage of these appeared in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, the latest only about a year before his death. In addition he was distinguished as a translator and editor, and he has enriched the library of the Champlain Society with English editions of Nicolas Denys's book on Acadia, Le Clercq's on Gaspesia, and Champlain's account of his voyages to Acadia and New England. As regards his native province of New Brunswick, Dr. Ganong's contributions to the study of its physiography, natural history, settlements, place-nomenclature, historic sites, and physical development have established his authority beyond danger of overthrow.

In the difficult field of cartography he and his distinguished fellow-worker, Mr. G. R. F. Prowse of Winnipeg, have gained, through their researches, universal recognition as the outstanding authorities on the cartography of the east coast of Canada; though widely separated they worked in continuous collaboration during many years. It is interesting to note that their great collections of cartographical data will soon be placed together in the Archives Department of the New Brunswick Museum, to form the greatest repository of its kind in existence. Dr. Ganong's generosity is, also, to enrich the Museum by the gift of his sixty years' accumulation of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, pictures, maps, etc., relating to all other historical researches.

As a worker, Dr. Ganong was characterized by meticulous accuracy and adherence to scientific methods. He had no interest in honours, awards, or publicity. His one ambition was to carry on his investigations with honesty of purpose as his guiding principle. Truly it may be said that he was one of the most conscientious and outstanding scholars yet produced in Canada. (J. C. WEBSTER)

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The degree of LL.D., *honoris causa*, is being conferred on Professor G. M. Wrong by the University of Toronto on December 15.

Lionel M. Gelber has been appointed as a lecturer in the Department of History at the University of Toronto, in the absence of Edgar McInnis who is this year a visiting lecturer at Bowdoin College.

T. T. Oleson has been appointed Assistant in the Department of History at United College, Winnipeg.

#### THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY

*What Should Our Historical Society Do?*, written by Dr. Edward P. Alexander, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, is the title of the first of a series of bulletins issued by the Association. It contains a great many excellent suggestions, among which every local society may find something applicable to its own problems. The Association has also issued three numbers of its *State and Local History News*. A joint session with the American Historical Association is being held in Chicago on December 29, at which the subject will be "Increasing the Membership of Historical Societies."

The Oregon Historical Society has within recent months published three reference works of much value for the history of the West Coast: the *Oregon Historical Quarterly Index*, pp. 834, \$3.00 or \$3.50, covers forty volumes of the *Quarterly* for the years 1900-1939; an index of the *Oregon Spectator*, pp. 655, \$3.00, covers the years 1846-54; and finally a guide to the manuscript collections of the society.

#### BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

(*The Canadian Historical Review* will be pleased to supply on request information with regard to publishers and prices of books mentioned in its pages. These notes are of necessity selective. Suggestions will be appreciated.)

*Pamphlets on current events.* Among the numerous pamphlets published since our last issue, the following may be noted as of special interest to readers of these notes. The Canadian Association for Adult Education, in its "Behind the Headlines series" published jointly with the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, has begun its second volume with *What about Wheat?* by G. E. Britnell and *Canada's Control of Labour Relations* by H. A. Logan (Toronto, 10c. each). The "Food for Thought" series, also published by the Association, has two recent publications in its second volume: *French Canada and the War* by R. M. Saunders and *Religious Peace in Canada* by Claris Edwin Silcox (Toronto, 10c. each). Dent's are continuing to publish their "Liberty Handbooks," recent new titles being *Can Britain be Invaded?* by "Strategicus"; *Our Ocean Lifeline* by Commander D. S. E. Thompson; *War-time Health and Democracy* by Dr. Hugh Clegg; *Defeating the Bomber* by H. E. Wimperis (London [Toronto], Dent's, 25c. each). A series devoted to the British Commonwealth published by Longmans, Green & Co. contains four new pamphlets: *Britain and India* by R. Coupland; *Britain and South Africa* by Eric A. Walker; *From the British Empire to the British Commonwealth* by Sir Alfred Zimmern; *The Canadian Nation* by J. L. Morison (Toronto, 10c. each). Yet another publishing house, the Macmillan Company, is producing numerous pamphlets of interest to readers. Among its war pamphlets (Canadian series) are the following: *The New Canadian Loyalists* by John Murray Gibbon; *The North American Tradition* by Irene Baird; *Reading in War-time* by Maurice N. Eisendrath; *Somewhere in England*; *War Letters of a Canadian Officer on Overseas Service* by John Douglas Macbeth; *Canadian Women in War-time* by Charlotte Whitton; *The French Canadian in War-time* by Jean-Charles Harvey; *Conscription*

by "Politicus" (L. L. L. Golden); *Canadian-American Relations* by Lionel Shapiro (Toronto, 10c. each). The Macmillan Company has also published a booklet entitled *The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan* by I. Norman Smith (Toronto, Macmillan Co., 25c.). Recently published numbers of the excellent *Oxford Periodical History of the War* by Edgar McInnis are: No. 8, April to June, 1941; no. 9, July to September, 1941 (Toronto, 25c. each). These can also be found in the bound volume of the Periodical History, entitled *The War: Second Year* (Toronto, Oxford University Press, x, 318 pp., \$2.00). The National Planning Association in Washington has been producing a series of Planning Pamphlets, no. 6 of which is entitled *United States' Co-operation with British Nations* (Washington, The Association, 1721 Eye St., 51 pp., 25c.).

#### CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

*The Canadian Catholic Historical Association* held its eighth annual meeting at London, Ontario, on October 8 and 9, 1941. Sessions were held in the Hotel London, the University of Western Ontario, and St. Peter's Hall. The addresses and papers included the presidential address by Senator the Hon. W. H. McGuire, K.C., President General; "Canadian Catholic War Activities," by Colonel the Most Rev. C. L. Nelligan, D.D., Bishop of Pembroke and Chief Catholic Chaplain of the Canadian Army; "The Discovery of the Site of the Huron Mission St. Ignace II, Scene of the Martyrdom of St. Jean Brébeuf and St. Gabriel Lalemant," by Dr. W. Sherwood Fox, President of the University of Western Ontario; "The British Government and the Irish Episcopate, 1799-1815," by Professor D. J. McDougall, University of Toronto; "The Early History of Catholicity in London," by the Most Rev. R. H. Dignan, D.D., Bishop of Sault Ste. Marie; "Three Hundred Years in Quebec—A Study in Historical Continuity," by the Rev. Mother M. St. James, Dean of Arts, Brescia Hall, London; "The Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke, D.D., 'Apostle of Upper Canada' and First Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia, 1753-1820," by the Rev. Brother Alfred, F.S.C., LL.D., of Toronto; "Lawrence Kavanagh, Winner of Emancipation in Nova Scotia," by the Rev. D. J. Rankin, of Iona, Cape Breton; "Catholic Pioneers of Tyendinaga and Neighbouring Townships," by Miss Clara McFerran of Detroit; "A Distinguished Son of Huron County—The Rev. Stephen Eckert, O.M.Cap.," by Thomas S. Melady, of Toronto; "Saint-Sulpice et la hiérarchie de l'Ontario," by the Right Rev. Olivier Maurault, P.S.S., LL.D., Rector of the University of Montreal; "Napoléon et l'Eglise," by the Rev. Georges Simard, O.M.I., Ph.D., S.T.D., University of Ottawa; "Le Grand Vicaire Dufresne," by the Rev. Dolor Biron, of Sherbrooke, P.Q.; "L'abbé Pierre Girard, premier supérieur du Séminaire Saint-Charles-Borromée de Sherbrooke," by Louis C. O'Neil; "Soixante-et-quinze Ans de vie catholique et française en Ontario," by Senator the Hon. Gustave Lacasse; "Avantages de l'Eglise sous la régime britannique," by Dr. Gustave Lanctôt, K.C., LL.D., Public Archivist of Canada. Officers of the Association for 1941-2 are: Honorary president, His Eminence the Most Rev. J. M. Rodrigue, Cardinal Villeneuve, O.M.I.; president general, Victor Morin, LL.D. English Section—president, the Rev. H. J. Somers, Ph.D.; first vice-president, the Rev. Brother Alfred, F.S.C., LL.D.; second vice-president, W. L. Scott, K.C., LL.D.; secretary, James F. Kenney, Ph.D., LL.D., D.Litt.; treasurer, Walter C. Cain. French Section—president, the Rev. Thomas M. Charland, O.P.; first vice-president, Dr. Gustave Lanctôt, K.C., LL.D.; second vice-president, the Rev. Arthur Maheux, D.Th.; secretary, Dr. Séraphin Marion; treasurer, the Rev. Edgar Thivierge, O.M.I.

*The Historical Association of Annapolis Royal* held its twenty-third annual meeting at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, on November 17. Prizes for historical work were presented to Miss Joan MacDormand, and Miss Jean Parker, and films illustrating the natural history of the Maritime Provinces were shown by Mr. Robie Tufts, Federal Migratory Bird Officer of Wolfville, N.S. Officers: President, T. H. H. Fortier; vice-president, Boyd B. Barteau; secretary, Mrs. F. C. Gilliat; treasurer, T. W. H. MacPherson.

*The Okanagan Historical Society* has issued its ninth report, the individual papers of which are noted in our List of Recent Publications. The report shows the society to be in a flourishing condition. Officers: President, Joseph B. Weeks; vice-presidents, John C. Goodfellow, Max H. Ruhmann, A. E. Sage; editor, G. C. Tassie; assistant editor, Miss Elsie Foote; librarian, James G. Simms; secretary-treasurer, L. Norris.

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#### ARCHIVES, LIBRARIES, AND MUSEUMS

*The American Antiquarian Society*, which has its library at Worcester, Massachusetts, makes a point of obtaining all of the publications of the local county, state, provincial, and regional historical societies in English-speaking America. In recent years it has been difficult to keep up contact with the various Canadian societies, so the American Antiquarian Society would very much appreciate being informed of the publications of all such Canadian societies as they appear.

*A Guide to Ten Major Depositories of Manuscript Collections in New York State* (exclusive of New York City) is to be published in the near future by the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers. The price of the *Guide* is one dollar, and inquiries should be addressed to: Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., Box 120, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City. The *Guide* covers the New York State Library at Albany, and nine other important institutions distributed geographically from the Hudson and Champlain valleys to Buffalo. Altogether these collections include over three quarters of a million manuscripts, which will be described in some detail. The manuscripts contain a great deal of material having a bearing on Canadian history.

*The Hamilton Public Library* has recently acquired additional material relating to the Wesleyan Ladies College, Hamilton (1861-1897). The Library has the college catalogues from 1862 to 1872-3, 1877-8, 1880-1, 1890, 1892; an incomplete file of the college magazine, *The Portfolio*, from May, 1879, to March, 1895; the constitution of the Alumnae Association, 1877 (still in existence); some newspaper clippings and a manuscript historical sketch by one of the graduates. The Hamilton Public Library also has a catalogue for 1847 of an earlier school, The Burlington Ladies Academy, about which more information would be welcome. The Librarian, Miss Freda Waldon, would be glad to hear from graduates, or descendants of graduates of either of these schools, who can supply additional source material or information about graduates.

*Hudson's Bay Company Museum.* We have received from Mr. Clifford Wilson, curator of the Hudson's Bay Company Historical Exhibit in Winnipeg, the following information with regard to the recent re-organization of the Exhibit. Previously the arrangement had been entirely chronological for the whole of Canada. The new arrangement is devoted exclusively to the Western Canadian frontier, the West of Canada being arbitrarily fixed as west of the ninetieth meridian. The highlights of the history of this frontier are dealt with in the first part of the

Museum, from 1612, when the first white man set foot in what is now Manitoba, to 1941.

The history of each section of the West is then enlarged upon, being divided territorially into Hudson Bay, Woodlands, Prairies, Pacific Coast, MacKenzie Area, Mountains, and Arctic. Each section is treated separately, beginning with its earliest history and ending with the present. A great deal of new material has been added, and a certain amount of new lighting installed, including fluorescent light. The registered attendance last year was in excess of 43,000; this year that figure will be greatly exceeded, judging from monthly counts.

*Laval University.* The Abbé Maheux, editor of *Le Canada français*, has now included in his journal notes on archives collections which will be of great value, especially in regard to the collection at Laval University. The Abbé Maheux has been tireless in his efforts to promote an interest in the preservation of historical materials.

*The New Brunswick Museum.* Arrangements have recently been made by which two very important collections of historical material will be added to the resources of the Museum. The first is the collection made over a period of forty years by Dr. W. F. Ganong, about whom a biographical note is printed on page 465. Dr. Ganong's collection includes maps, plans, pictures, manuscripts, and a great abundance of Archives material relating to the early history of the Maritime Provinces. The second is the collection of Mr. G. R. F. Prowse of Winnipeg relating to the cartography of the eastern part of Canada. The combination of these two collections will give the Museum's material in this field a unique value.

Recent expansion of the Museum has been very rapid, both in its collections and in the activities through which it is reaching a large public. We are pleased to know that Dr. Webster of Shediac, who has made an enormous contribution not only to the growth of the Museum but to historical interests throughout the Maritime Provinces, is enjoying health which enables him to continue his work.

*The University of Virginia.* Mr. Lester J. Cappon, the archivist, informs us that the library has two items which have an interest for Canadian history: (1) The Hamond Papers (1771 ca. 1799). These consist chiefly of the autobiography, letter-books, and order-books of Captain Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Bart. (1738-1828). He was captain in the Royal Navy during the American Revolution, controller of the Navy, governor of Nova Scotia, and member of Parliament. The papers deal with naval and military operations in North America during 1771-83; a few additional entries were made by Admiral Sir Graham Eden Hamond in 1799. (2) The Miles Poindexter Papers. These are the manuscripts of Senator Poindexter of the State of Washington (in the House of Representatives 1909-11; in the Senate 1911-23). This collection has never been examined in detail, but it is possible that there is material in it on American-Canadian relations in connection with the State of Washington.

*The W. L. Clements Library* has recently acquired an official copy of the Treaty of Ghent, the only one not in official custody in Washington or London. It was included in a small but valuable collection of papers of Henry Goulburn, one of the British representatives at Ghent, which was purchased by the Library in England. The letters and documents cover the entire period of negotiation and about three-quarters of the papers have never appeared in print. The collection is briefly described by Mr. Howard H. Peckham, curator of manuscripts in the *Michigan Alumnus* of May 10, 1941.

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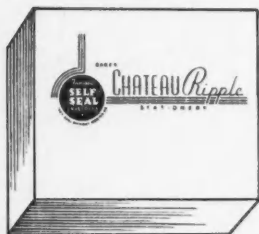




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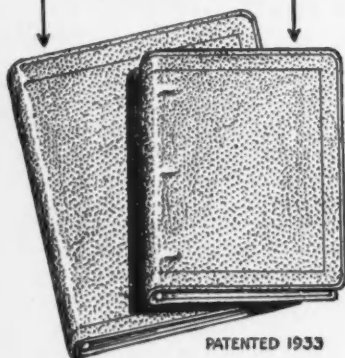
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